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| SOCIETY O |  |  |
| Briarwood, Lisbon, MD 21765-0099 walke96@attglobal.net |  |  |
| Wilson Hulme ..................................................................................................................Vice-President12 Manette Road, Morristown NJ 07960-6344 wilson_hulme@ msn.com |  |  |
| P.O. Box 50127, Billings MT 59105-0127 turgon96@aol.com |  |  |
| P.O. Box 750368, New Orleans, LA 70175-0368 DL@kullmanlaw.com |  |  |
| Rob Lund ............. | view Blvd., Everett WA 98203-6945 <br> padalund | rship Chairman om |
| P.O. Box 6712, McLean, VA 22106-6712 |  |  |
| Walter Demmerl 821 Wint | Drive, Virginia Beach, VA 23452-3939 $\quad$ demm | Sales Chairman ecox.net |
| 7725 Beaver Creek Dr., Mentor, OH 44060-7121 |  |  |
| P.O. Box 2301, Columbia, MD 21045-2301 bohnj@nichols.com |  |  |
| Directors: Joe '05; Dwayne O. Wade Saadi '0 Thomas J. Alex | H. Crosby '04; Walter Demmerle '05; Charles DiComo '0 littauer '04; Rob Lund '05 Michael J. Morrissey '04; Char Patricia Stilwell Walker ‘05; Roy Weber ‘06 Kent Wils nder, Thomas F. Allen, Van Koppersmith, Richard F. Win | son Hulme II Peterson '06; 06, ex officio: |

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James W. Milgram, M.D. .........................................................................................................Photo Editor
Water Tower Place Suite 922E, 845 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60611-2213
j-milgram@northwestern.edu
Frank Mandel.
Prestamp \& Stampless Period
P.O. Box 157, New York, NY 10014-0157

James W. Milgram, M.D., Assistant j-milgram@northwestern.edu
Gorden Stimmell .................................................................................U.S. Carriers \& Independent Mails 203 Willow Avenue, Toronto ONT M4E 3K4 Canada stimmell@sympatico.ca
Wade E. SaAdi .
93 80th Street, Brooklyn, NY 11209-3511 wade@pencom.com
Hubert C. Skinner $\qquad$
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Michael C. McClung
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Bank Note Period

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## THE PRESTAMP \& STAMPLESS PERIOD FRANK MANDEL, Editor

## CALIFORNIAN CAMPAIGN COVERS OF 1852 <br> JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

The Presidential campaign of 1852 when Franklin Pierce, the Democrat, ran against Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate, generated very little illustrated campaign stationery. The only portrait design known postally used on envelopes depicts General Scott in his uniform looking to the left (Figure 1). In the writer's book, Presidential Campaign Illustrated Envelopes and Letter Paper 1840-1872 (Phillips, 1994), this is WS-2. The cover illustrated is a very unusual postal usage (unlisted), a handstamped straight line "L. STANLEY P.M. FREE" in red with matching larger "FREE" and "VALLEY CORNERS N.Y. SEP 6." Such handstamped franks were actually illegal according to the postal regulations, but they seem to have been accepted by other postmasters.


Figure 1. Black portrait design of General Winfield Scott, red "VALLEY CORNERS N.Y. SEP 6," "FREE" and straight line "L. STANLEY P.M. FREE"

However, there are two cartoon designs, one for each candidate, that exhibit an embossed design highlighted with a colored corner card. This type of corner card, often termed a cameo, was quite popular during the 1850s into the 1860s. Most examples show a business firm and were printed in blue ink around an embossed central design, but black, red, orange, green and even violet hues also exist as well as colorless types.

This printing technique spread to the new state of California because a few California mining scene covers were produced in this manner. Since all known examples of the 1852 Presidential embossed envelopes exhibit western postal usages, it is assumed that the envelopes were produced for a stationer in San Francisco. Whether they were actually printed in California is unknown. As with some Confederate patriotic envelopes of 1861, they may have been produced in New York.

There are so few examples known that it is simple to describe all of them. FP-2 in my book is a red corner card depicting a rooster standing over a defeated raccoon with


Figure 2. Red embossed corner card for Pierce depicting rooster standing on raccoon with its feet in the air, "SAN FRANCISCO CAL 1 APR" and separate "10" to Providence, R.I.
"FOR PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE FOR VICE PRESIDENT WILLIAM R. KING." Figure 2 shows a "SAN FRANCISCO CAL. 14 APR" (1852), "10" unpaid usage to the east coast (Providence, R.I.). This is the only known example of this type. In addition to my book, it is depicted in Western Express of March 1995 in an article on these envelopes by Ian M. Paton.

The blue variety, FP-3, is shown in Figure 3 which is a similar cross country usage, "BENICA Cal. 14 MAR" and " 10 " to North Amesbury, Massachusetts. This cover would have gone by ship from San Francisco to Panama City, across the Isthmus to Chagres, and by ship to New York. If prepaid the rate would have been $6 \phi$. A second example of this type was used from Panama City with "PAID AT PANAMA" red double circle with British crown, "PAID" in black and red " $2 /$ " in crayon, red " 150 " (?reales) to Santiago, Chile with large pen " 2 " applied locally in Chile. There is an October 22, 1852 backstamp from Panama.

The Winfield Scott design in red is unlisted in my book. The text reads "FOR PRESIDENT WINFIELD SCOTT FOR VICE PRESIDENT WILLIAM A. GRAHAM". It would be WS-4A. An example of it with "SAN FRANCISCO Cal 16 APR" and " 10 " usage to the same addressee as Figure 2 is shown in Paton's article. Here the raccoon has vanquished the rooster. However, a second later usage example is shown in Figure 4 courtesy of Ian Paton. It is postmarked in black "GEORGETOWN CAL MAR 27" (1855), "PAID," and " 29 " paying the transatlantic packet rate with the west coast $5 \phi$ surcharge ( $10 \notin$ U.S. postage even though prepaid). New York marked the cover with a red " 19 " credit for Cunard packet and $3 \notin$ English inland. It arrived at Liverpool May 8, 1855 and took one day to reach Leighton.

The Scott design in blue, WS-4, is shown in Figure 5. This cover which sold in auction last year bears a $3 \not \subset 1851$ stamp canceled "FREE" and blue "WELLS FARGO \&


Figure 3. Blue embossed corner card for Pierce, "BENICA Cal. 14 MAR" and " 10 " to North Amesbury, Mass.


Figure 4. Red embossed corner card for Scott in which the raccoon is gloating over the fallen rooster, "GEORGETOWN CAL. MAR 27," "PAID," "29" to England with red "19" credit mark and English postmarks, 1855 usage


Figure 5. Blue embossed corner card for Scott with express usage out of the mails, blue "FREE" on stamp and oval "WELLS FARGO \& Cos. EXPRESS SACRAMENTO" to San Francisco

COs. EXPRESS SACRAMENTO" to San Francisco, a local express usage out of the mails. The express company applied the cancel to the stamp which was required since the envelope was not a post office entire. The other known example of the blue Winfield Scott corner card is the second envelope used from Panama to Santiago, Chile. It was backstamped Mar. 8, 1853 (after the election) and bears red crayon " 11 ," black "PAID" and pencil " 50 ," British usage of one shilling to Santiago by sea.

There is also an unused example with the corner card for Winfield Scott in green. This cover, which is owned by the writer, will be WS-4B.

The animals were symbols for the political parties. The raccoon has been seen in several of the Whig lettersheet designs of 1844. Incidently "O.K" stands for "Old Kentucky," a nickname for Henry Clay, the O.K. candidate for the Whigs. Van Buren was the little red fox of New York state.

The writer would like to be informed of any additional examples of these designs.

## U.S. CARRIERS \& INDEPENDENT MAILS GORDON STIMMELL, Editor

## WHAT IS A "DROP LETTER" AND A "DROP DEAD LETTER"? VERNON R. MORRIS JR., M.D.

Postal drop service appears deceptively simple. However, its evolution during the mid nineteenth century, in combining a developing federal system with local dynamics, creates some areas of confusion for postal historians. The post offices of small towns varied considerably from their counterparts in large cities in areas of service, revenue, problems and interests. This article attempts to clarify several of these issues through a comprehensive review with particular attention to the principle of "follow the money."

Since colonial days the post office was usually in the center of a town's business section and often an integral part of its commerce. On a periodic basis many people would make a trip to the post office to retrieve and pay for their inbound mail which was transported by the government and being held for them at no additional charge. Also, as a public convenience a local letter could be dropped off at the post office and held by the postmaster for the recipient in the same town to pick up, which incurred a "drop" charge, invariably paid by the recipient. Furthermore, as a hybrid of the two, a letter from another town could be given to a traveler, perhaps an acquaintance, and transported "free" (bootlegged) outside the mails, "dropped" off at the post office of the addressee, and similarly held for a "drop" charge to be paid by the recipient (Figure 1).

However, many recipients did not regularly visit the post office. If a letter were uncalled for after 48 hours, the postmaster was allowed to have the letters delivered by a letter carrier, unless a written notice to the contrary had been submitted. Letters might otherwise accumulate and conceivably even cause a storage problem. Of course the letter carrier would expect to be compensated for his service, in the form of a "carrier fee."


Figure 1. An unrated folded lettersheet cover internally docketed Jan 13, 1840 from Salem, N.Y. with a circular New York datestamp. The manuscript instruction "Please drop in the P.Office at New York" is unusually explicit. Courtesy Calvet Hahn.

During the early nineteenth century some of the largest cities began to provide rental boxes in the post office lobby. Businesses or individuals could thereby bypass the general delivery window for pick-up of inbound and local "drop" mail. Revenue generated from rental boxes as well as the "drop" service went to the postmaster as a perquisite of position.

Subjects closely related to the topic of "drop letters" are the letter carriers and postmasters. Special emphasis in this article is rendered by boldface type for "drop letter" topics, and in italic type for letter carriers and postmaster topics. The framework of this two part article is initially historical. The evolution from colonial days through the late 1860 s is developed with a review of pertinent legislation in Part 1. Part 2 comprises issues such as "drop dead letters," overpaid "drop letters" and an analysis of the significance of this study to classical U.S. postal history. Although Philadelphia is the author's special interest, New York City can not be overlooked. An abundance of illustrations is employed to represent most periods and legislative changes.

## Intercity Mail

"Congress shall have Power . . . To establish post-offices and post-roads." An Act of Congress could establish uniform postal rates throughout the country. Proceeds from regular postage went to the United States Treasury in Washington, D.C. Did this authority, however, grant exclusive control over collection, distribution and delivery of mail?

Federal postage rates on intercity mail were very high and generally paid by the recipient. From 1816 until June 30, 1845 a single letter sheet between Philadelphia and


Figure 2. The 75¢ quadruple rate for Philadelphia to Boston which falls in the 150-400 mile distance. This December 6, 1833 letter was prepaid and franked with a "PHIL / 6 / DEC" marking, Clarke type 51a.

[^1]New York was $12^{1} / 24$, the rate for $80-150$ miles; between Philadelphia and Boston $18 \frac{1}{2} \not \subset$, for $150-400$ miles (Figure 2); and between Philadelphia and New Orleans $25 \phi$, for over 400 miles. Moreover, the cost was multiplied by the number of sheets.


Figure 3. The small eagle adhesives of The American Letter Mail Co. specified " 20 for a dollar." The red circular marking was applied in Philadelphia on this August 26, 1844 outbound letter. The red oval New York forwarding marking was applied en route to the Boston destination.

High rates heavily subsidized the transportation of newspapers, often generated by the colonial postmaster's primary business as printer, which by the Federal Period comprised $75 \%$ to $85 \%$ of the mail bulk. ${ }^{2}$

With such high postage rates, the business of carrying mail was ripe for private enterprise. In 1844, the Independent Mail firms that started letter routes along railways and waterways issued prepaid adhesives, and charged only $6 \notin$ between Philadelphia and either New York or Boston (Figure 3). To eliminate this competition and gain a postal monopoly, the important Act of 1845, effective July 1st, greatly reduced the government's intercity rates. For 300 miles, including Philadelphia to Boston, the postage rate was only 54 , and over 300 miles such as Philadelphia to New Orleans was only $10 \notin$ per $1 / 2$ ounce. ${ }^{3}$ Dovetailed with this legislation was a large increase in the "drop" charge, which we shall see had far reaching effects.

## Intracity Mail

A drop letter as defined in the second paragraph of this article was the simplest form of intracity mail. Following the Act of 1845 , however, the postal authorities very much feared a huge loss of total revenue. The "drop" charge was mandated a federal "rate" and doubled for all post offices in the country, to partially compensate for the steep intercity

[^2]rate reductions. ${ }^{4}$ There was also no competition for the "drop" service, which was certainly not labor intensive.

During the eighteenth century, approximately 260 post offices operated at one time or another, ${ }^{5}$ usually housed in a local businessman's store, which served to draw the public. Since some people did not visit their local post office on a frequent basis, inbound and local drop letters might accumulate. If a letter was not called for within 48 hours the postmaster was allowed to dispatch the letter by a carrier (often a boy) of his selection. City letter carriers had been called "penny post" since 1693 . ${ }^{6}$ During colonial rule by Great Britain, some towns had postmen who would deliver incoming mail for 1 English penny, which was the equivalent of $2 \not \subset$ U.S. During the Confederation Period, following the Revolutionary War, carriers continued delivering letters. Postal laws as early as 1794, at the beginning of the Federal Period, allowed the Postmaster General to set the carrier delivery "fees" at $2 \notin$ per letter.?

During the early nineteenth century, the number of letter carriers in the cities generally grew commensurate with the population. ${ }^{8}$ The second quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed intracity mail develop to a much more sophisticated level in several cities, and therefore the letter carriers are an important collateral subject of "drop" mail. Carrier departments were established in the largest cities for the house and business delivery of letters. Such carrier departments had to be financially self sufficient without subsidization from Washington. Eventually fees collected by the carriers went to a common fund before distribution for costs, reimbursements and compensation. ${ }^{9}$ Although the carrier department of each city was physically connected to the post office, it was treated as a separate entity, responsible for its own bookkeeping and financial support. ${ }^{10}$ Elliot Perry reported ${ }^{11}$ that by 1863 , however, only 49 post offices out of some 20,000 in the North ${ }^{12}$ developed a carrier department. ${ }^{13}$ By far the largest carrier departments were in New York City and Philadelphia.

The carriers in this country had no competition for local delivery until very late in 1839, ${ }^{14}$ when the New York Penny Post made its appearance. On July 1, 1845, the only

[^3]

Figure 4. 3ç charge for $\mathbf{1 8 4 2 - 1 8 4 6}$ private post service. This November 14, 1845 local Philadelphia letter was handled by the City Despatch for $3 ¢$ collect on delivery to a street address as indicated by the handstamp.


Figure 5. 2c charge for 1846-1849 private post service. G.S. Harris Despatch Post handstamp "2Cts." due from addressee on a circa 1847 Philadelphia local letter sheet.
private posts in the country were Robertson \& Co. in Philadelphia and Boyd's in New York. On that milestone day the increased "drop" component of intracity mail, especially if in conjunction with carrier delivery service, made governmental local mail service competitively unfavorable ${ }^{15}$ and opened the door for a boom of private local post competition. ${ }^{16,17}$ Although the private posts were initially also expensive at $3 \notin$ for city delivery (Figure 4), by 1846 many were able to prosper at $2 \phi$ (Figure 5), and by 1849 Blood's Despatch controlled the market in Philadelphia with sufficient volume for a reduction to $1 申!$ (Figure 6)


Figure 6. 1c charge for 1849-1862 private posts. Blood's Despatch "One Cent" adhesive canceled by acid and red "Philada Railroad" handstamp prepaid "to the Post Office" and a 5¢ 1847 general issue adhesive on a March 15 [ 1850 or 1851] cover to Providence, R.I.

From 1836 until 1860, the Postmaster General could set the carrier fees at his discretion and manipulate the various carrier fees from city to city and year to year according to market pressure from the locally competing private posts. Furthermore, the U.S.P.O. possessed and controlled virtually all inbound mail. The Postmaster General directed the carriers to continue delivering all incoming letters to the addressee, unless otherwise notified by the recipient, almost always at the high $2 \not \subset$ delivery fee.

In $1852,34 \%$ of the intercity mail in this country was still recipient paid. ${ }^{18}$ The carrier had therefore been responsible for allocating receipts at the house door between inbound postage for Washington and carrier fees for his own compensation. Various carrier markings became very useful and left a rich postal legacy, particularly in Philadelphia. The Postmaster General's discretionary power lasted until July 1, 1860, and the "Fee System" until July 1, 1863.
${ }^{15}$ Perry, p. 40.
${ }^{16}$ Ibid., p. 44.
${ }^{1 "} H a h n$, "The Early Development of Carrier Service in America," p. 45.
${ }^{18}$ Ibid., p. 56.

## The Postmasters

The postmaster was in charge of an individual post office. He was entrusted with "drop letters" and was paid well as its custodian until it was received by the addressee. The postmaster also held inbound mail but did not receive any direct compensation.

During our nation's first century the perquisites of the postmaster were very significant, and included the free franking privilege, patronage of the postmaster's business, emoluments for drop letters and newspaper postage, ${ }^{19}$ handling "free" letters (not to or from the postmaster), the ability to hire friends or family as letter carriers, rental of post office boxes, and port of entry ship letter emoluments. ${ }^{20,21}$ Eventually, thousands of postmasters in remote towns ${ }^{22}$ were greatly subsidized by the first two or three mechanisms, whereas the few postmasters in the large cities profited handsomely from the latter three or four. The "drop letter" revenue may have been the one area most common to both groups.

Postmasters and their financial incentives are of collateral interest to the study of "drop letters." During the 1840s the direct income of most postmasters was only between $\$ 10$ and $\$ 100$ a year, ${ }^{23}$ generally as a percentage of total revenue, ${ }^{24}$ whereas in the cities the base income alone for the postmasters in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, St. Louis and Washington, D.C. was $\$ 2,000$ a year, ${ }^{25}$ with Boston, New Orleans, Alexandria and Pittsburgh close behind.

## "Drop Letter" Definition

In 1993 Steven Roth suggested that the "drop letter" definition presented in the second paragraph of this article may have been too literal or restrictive. ${ }^{26}$ The following year Roth defined a "drop letter" as: "A letter left at the Philadelphia Post Office to be picked up by the addressee at the Post Office. Also, letters given to the Post Office via the general delivery window, rather than via the carrier section window, which were intended to be delivered by carrier. ${ }^{127}$ Is there evidence to support this much wider, more liberal view of a "drop letter"? It may be helpful to review the postal milestones of the Federal Period with particular focus on "drop" charges and rates, neither of which were a fee, and were established by Congress rather than by the Postmaster General. An analysis of time specific circumstances prior to the late 1840 s supports a restrictive interpretation, whereas after the early 1860s a more liberal view.

In cities with a carrier department, it is frequently difficult to distinguish with certainty a letter dropped and held at the post office from one that was carrier delivered. Except for New Orleans, carrier markings on letters delivered from the post office are virtually non-existent. Criteria useful in determining "drop" service in increasing order of

[^4]

Figure 7. Per the Act of 1825, the "drop" emolument of ic applied. The red octagonal "PHILa / 30 / OCT" handstamp, manuscript "1" rated 1834 folded letter sheet for a person who apparently is staying at a local hotel. Philadelphia "drop" letters of the time usually were local use with either a cds or manuscript rate. This is an unusual example demonstrating both.


Figure 8. September 16 [1853] lettersheet cover addressed to "Box 1166," with Philadelphia numeral " 1 " handstamp, and Carrier Department lithographed adhesive canceled by a Philadelphia red star handstamp.


Figure 9. Carrier delivery to the Philadelphia Post Office for $1 ¢$ indicated by the U.S.P.O. Despatch in octagon handstamp. At the post office the letter was handed by the carrier department to the main department designated by the Philadelphia double octagon cds. The letter was held for the Bank of Penn Township to pick up. "DROP / 1 ct." in circle handstamp (Stets C-19) was applied and their account charged. Total cost was 2¢.


Figure 10. An 1863 "DROP LETTER" in federally occupied New Orleans. The 2¢ rate is indicated by the handstamp since the letter was incorrectly franked with a demonetized adhesive. Courtesy Scott Trepel.
specificity but decreasing order of frequency are: (1) a cover with origin (contents), destination (name of individual or business without listing a street address) and postal marking (cds) all of the same city (Figure 7); (2) a cover addressed to the "post office" or a post office box number (Figure 8); (3) a specific handstamp designation such as "drop" (Figure 9) or "drop letter" (Figure 10). As a loose rule of thumb, if a letter does not give a street address it was probably a drop letter held for pick up; if a street address is listed, the letter was probably delivered by a carrier if one existed in that town at that time.
(to be continued)

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# THE 1847 PERIOD WADE E. SAADI, Editor 

# STEEL USED TO PRINT THE FIRST TWO ISSUES OF U.S. STAMPS © GERALD L. MOSS 

(Continued from Chronicle 198:141)
Analogous to Disston's dependence on Sheffield cast steel, Samuel Collins, the Connecticut axe manufacturer (Figure 22) who furnished the first finished axe in the U.S., had been buying cast steel for his axes from Naylor and Sanderson for years. ${ }^{72}$ The Naylor and Co. advertisement on the 1840 folded letter shown in Figs. 23 and 24 specifically identifies supplies for engravers, i.e., "It [cast steel] is exported in bars or sheets of any shape, size or gage required; and tempered, either very mild, for engravers' and die sinkers' uses, or strong and tough, for edge tools, fine cutting instruments . . . ." The letter locates the Naylor \& Co. distributor at 212 Pearl Street in New York. Also, Edward Fisher Sanderson, relative of the Sheffield Sandersons, came to New York in the 1820s to market their cast steel. ${ }^{73}$ The cover shown in Figure 25 is addressed to the Sanderson Works, an evolution of Sanderson Bros. Steel Co., Syracuse, N.Y., which was established by the British Sandersons in 1876.


Figure 22. A Collinsville axe postmark used on an 1836 folded cover. Samuel Collins purchased crucible steel from manufacturers in Sheffield, England from 1826 to 1863 . He started manufacturing best quality crucible steel in $\mathbf{1 8 6 3}$ for use in his own business because of the rising cost and unavailability of English steel. Collins was responsible for establishing the Collinsville post office. The axe served simultaneously as a dated postmark and as a corner card advertisement for his business.

[^5]

Figure 23. Front of folded letter, advertisement, and price list for Naylor \& Co., crucible steel manufacturers located in Sheffield, England. The New York postmark and note on the advertisement reveal that John Hutchinson was a Naylor \& Co. "Resident Partner," with an office at 212 Pearl St., New York. Wm. L. King signed a penned note and dated it Mar 26, 1840 on the back of the advertisement. It is evident that Naylor crucible steel was available in New York in 1840.

It is apparent that British cast steel was readily available in the U.S., and it was, in all probability, the steel our engravers and printers chose for their 1840s and ' 50 s plates. Cyril Stanley Smith furnishes further credence to this point of view with his description of the supply of engraving plates just prior to 1860, i.e., "Sheffield was supplying the best and the largest quantities of steel plates used by engravers in London and in the United States .
$\ldots{ }^{3 / 7}$ Perkins and Bacon's plate purchases must certainly have had their influence, and as might be expected, they purchased Sheffield cast steel-first, from Richard Bayley, one lot from William Hoole \& Co., then from J.H. Winder, and later, others. ${ }^{75}$

## Summary

Information is reported to further characterize the steels used for the plates that printed the first two issues of U.S. stamps. The history of the processing of steel and the features of the prints on the stamps were used to establish the following about the plates:

- The plates were made from a plain carbon steel.
- The plates were manufactured by the crucible (cast) steel process.

The carbon content of the plate surfaces and a first approximation of the recarburization 0.036 cm ( 0.014 inches) into the plate were determined according to the processing descriptions Jacob Perkins furnished in his patent. The concentrations determined are as follows:

- Carbon concentration of the carburized surface $-1.4 \%$ (wt.)
- Carbon concentration @ 0.036 cm . ( 0.014 inches) - $0.4 \%$ (wt.)

[^6]
## NATHOR \& COS STH퍂T

THE STEEL which has for so many years enjoyed so unrivalled a reputation in America, and which was formerly marked NAYLOR \& SANDERSON, is now marked NAYIOR\&CO. The attention of Dealers in the United States is respectfully solicited to the following synopsis of the various qualities and adaptations of our steel, exhibiting the various marks and distinctions under which it is sent out, each bar having some one of the marks following stamped in the middle. The attention of purchasers is particularly directed to this precaution.

NAYIOR \& DO'S BEST WARRANTED DOUBLT RE- NATLOR \& CO'S SHEET OAST STEEI FOR SAWE, \&C.
 celebrated article, which for so many years has been deservedly patronized $\begin{aligned} & \text { consequence of the rapid increase of the manufacture of Saws in the } \\ & \text { United States, we are taking especial pains both in the quality and rolling }\end{aligned}$ in the United States, and may justly be considered as the PmRFEGTION of it, to send out a superior article for this purpose. And we would direct OF $\mathbf{g r m i z}$. It is adapted for all general purposes where the best steel is the attention of Sawmakers particularly, to the beauty of the finish of our required, the greatest care being taken, both in the selection of the original Saw Steel in general. It is exported in sheets of every shape, size and material, and in the manufacturing process, to have it perfectly sound and gage, for Circulars, Segments, Cross Cut and Pit Saws, Mill Savs, Hand uniform. It is exported in bars or sheets of any shape, size, or gage required; Saws, Billet Webs, \&c. \&c.
and tempered, either very mild for engravers and die sinkers' uses, or strong
and tough, for edge tools, fine cutting instruments, best circular and other
saws, and the general uses of smiths and other mechanics; or very highly NAYLOR \& CO'S OAST STIPI FOR GTNSAWS, No. 1. arbonized, for drills, cold chisels, nail cutters, granite hammers, dies of The best quality of Ginsaws are made from this.
all kinds, trip hammer faces, and other purposes, where adamantine hardness, and great strength, is requisite.

NAYLOR \& CO'S (N) STPEL FOR GINSAWS, No. 2. Some of the best Gin makers in the United States, pronounce this Steel superior great toughncss, which prevent the teeth from breaking when

[^7]

Figure 25. An advertising cover to the Sanderson Works. Edward Fisher Sanderson came to the U.S. in the 1820s as a sales agent for the parent Sheffield, England company. Later, they established a crucible steel manufacturing business in Syracuse, New York.

Isothermal-transformation diagrams, end-quench hardenability data and the condition of incipient cracking (associated with the cracking of the second-issue plates) were used to approximate the carbon level in the mid-region of the second-issue plates. This is interpreted as the approximate carbon concentration of the plates Toppan et al. purchased.

- Carbon concentration of the mid-region of the second-issue plates $-0.4 \%$ (wt.)

The stability and degraded clarity of the crack on the $5 \phi$ first-issue plate with continued use reveals the first-issue plates were thoroughly stress relieved, while the second-issue plates ( $1 \phi$ Plates 1L, 2, and $3 ; 3 \notin$ Plates 5L and 7L) never were. Possible additional reasons the first-issue plates tended not to crack are as follows:

- Possibly, the plates were not hardened.
- Possibly, the plates were a low-carbon steel.
- Possibly, a more gentle hardening quench was used than was used for the second issue plates.
The history of the crucible steel industry in the United States reveals there was no U.S. manufacturer in a position to furnish plates for the 1847-1861 U.S. stamps. Furthermore, it was generally believed that British steel was the best, and the British had commercial offices in Philadelphia, New York and Hartford. The conclusion is that steel for the U.S. 1847-1861 plates came from Sheffield, England. The most likely supplier was either Jessop \& Sons, Sanderson \& Brothers, or Naylor and Co.


## THE ARMITAGE COVERS JOHN C. PEAK <br> Introduction

The Armitage Covers comprise 136 covers and stamped printed letters sent to the Armitage Mill in Exeter, Illinois between 3 November 1855 and 26 September 1860. They all have $1 \varnothing$ Franklin stamps from the issue of 1851-57. The stamps include a perforated type III (99R2) postmarked 27 October 1857, and a Type II (Chicago perforation) postmarked 29 May 1856. These dates are believed to be the earliest known use for those two varieties.

This group of covers represents an unusual collection of third class mail from the middle of the 19th century. Most of the covers still contain printed market letters sent to Elihu Armitage Jr., the operator of the mill during this period. Although a few covers have been sold, the major collection is still intact after a century and a half. One cover has been given to each of 37 direct descendants of Elihu Armitage, Jr., and the rest comprise a collection of 99 covers, which are the subject of this article.

This article attempts to answer the following questions. What philatelic information does the collection contain and how did this collection come into being?

## Plates, Types, and Dates

Third-class mail was generally thrown away in the 1850s as it is now. Consequently this number of covers bearing the $1 \varnothing$ Franklin stamps of $1851-57$ is unusual. Also, because most of the covers contain dated grain market letters from Chicago and St. Louis, the exact mailing date of all but 20 of the 99 covers is known. Although the date range of the collection is narrow, from 3 November 1855 to 26 September 1860, the collection includes $1 \notin$ Franklin stamps of all five major types, and from 7 of the plates used to print $1 \notin$ stamps (counting Plate 1 Early and Plate 1 Late as two plates). An inventory of the 99 covers by type, plate and date range is shown in Table 1.

Seventy-four of the 99 covers and letters were mailed in Chicago between 3 November 1855 and April 28, 1860. Eighteen were mailed in St. Louis between 12 July 1858 and 26 September 1860. Two of the covers were from Cincinnati, mailed in 1860, and one was from Concord, Illinois with a pen cancel of 21 May 1858. The remaining four covers were not postmarked or canceled, even though they were delivered.

## Third Class Postmarking

The four uncanceled covers, all with Type IV stamps, indicate a postmarking failure rate of $4 / 136$ or $3 \%$ on third class mail at this time from Chicago and St. Louis. Since postmarking was all done by hand, this does not seem a large failure rate. Failure to postmark is probably a significant source of the uncanceled, no gum, classification, which commands a premium of two to three times that of a canceled stamp in this issue. From the author's experience, the postmarking failure rate for small groups of third class mail is at least as large now.

## Railroad Postmarks

The earliest four postmarks in the collection are Chicago Alt \& St Louis R.R. for the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad line. The cancels have dates between 25 October 1855 and 12 November 1855. The envelopes contained market letters from J.J. Richards, a Chicago grain broker. Figure 1 shows one of these covers with a Type IV stamp. These four covers are interesting because they were canceled on the railroad even though they were mailed from downtown Chicago. Subsequent mailings from the same source on 14 November 1855 and later were postmarked in a normal way from the Chicago post office, and there are no further railroad cancellations in the collection.

Table 1. Inventory of Armitage Covers Plates, Types, Dates

| Plate | Perf? | Ia | II | III | IIIa | IV | V | Date Range |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| 1 E | no |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | $?$ |
| 1 L | no |  |  |  |  | 36 |  | $11 / 3 / 55-8 / 17 / 57$ |
| 1 L | yes |  |  |  |  | 2 |  | $10 / 8 / 5 ?-10 / 10 / 57$ |
| 2 | no |  | 3 |  |  |  |  | $7 / 31 / 56-5 / 21 / 57$ |
| 2 | yes |  | 4 |  |  |  |  | $10 / 23 / 57-12 / 30 / 57$ |
| 4 | no | 2 | 3 |  | 3 |  |  | $6 / 27 / 57-8 / 1 / 57$ |
| 4 | yes | 1 |  |  | 6 |  |  | $11 / 9 / 57-12 / 21 / 57$ |
| 7 | yes |  |  |  |  |  | 7 | $2 / ? / 58-9 / 14 / 60$ |
| 8 | yes |  |  |  |  |  | 8 | $7 / 12 / 58-11 / 14 / 59$ |
| 9 | yes |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | $3 / 22 / 60-6 / 13 / 60$ |
| Chicago <br> perf. |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | $5 / 29 / 56$ |
| unplated |  |  |  |  |  |  | 19 | $4 / 16 / 59-9 / 26 / 60$ |
| Totals |  | 3 | 12 | 1 | 9 | 38 | 36 |  |



Figure 1. Postmarked by the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad on 25 October 1855. The envelope contained a grain market letter from J.J. Richards, a Chicago grain broker. The Type IV imperforate stamp was cut badly off-center.


Figure 2. Unofficial "Chicago" perforation of $12^{1 / 2}$ on a Type II stamp from Plate 2, used on printed financial circular dated 28 May 1856. Mailed by P.L. Wells in Chicago on 29 May 1856 to Mr. E. Armitage in Exeter, III. One of two earliest known uses of this perforation, both from the same source on the same day.


Figure 3. Enlargement of the unofficial "Chicago" perforation shown in Figure 2.

## Stamps Cut Off Center

Another interesting fact about these four railroad cancellations is that three of the stamps were cut badly off center, as can also be seen in Figure 1. The collection includes three more covers with imperforate stamps from J.J. Richards, and of these three, one was badly cut and another one was torn halfway through before use. It seems likely that the person who prepared the mailing cut several imperforate sheets apart at once, to save time. A non-aligned sheet underneath the top sheet would thus be cut off center. The introduction of perforated stamps two years later must have been greatly appreciated by businesses with large mailing lists.

Chicago Perforation and e. k. u.
In 1856 the U.S. Postal Service was considering the use of perforated stamps, which had been introduced in England. A Chicago dentist, E. W. Hadley, invented a perforating machine with the hope of selling it to the Post Office, and sold perforated stamps to nearby merchants. ${ }^{1}$ This unofficial "Chicago" perforation of $12^{1 / 2}$ is rare, and easily distinguished from the $15^{1 / 2}$ gauge used by the post office when it began issuing perforated stamps in February 1857. P.L. Wells, who published a financial letter in Chicago, used these stamps and one of his letters was sent to the Armitage Mill. ${ }^{2}$ The printed letter, folded and stamped with no envelope, is shown in Figure 2, and the Type II stamp (Plate 2) is shown in Figure 3. The letter is dated 28 May 1856, and the postmark is 29 May 1856. The stamp is one of the few $1 申$ Chicago perforations on cover, and shares the distinction of earliest known use with a market letter dated the same day and from the same source, to an address in Montreal, Canada. ${ }^{3}$

## Plate Usage

The Armitage Mill received grain market letters from J.J. Richards and later Mooers and Richards in Chicago, and from Merchants Exchange in St. Louis over a five-year period. Table 1 shows the ranges of dates in the collection for the use of stamps from these various plates. The overlap of dates, particularly for plates 7,8 and 9 , reflects the rapidly rising use of postage throughout this period, when several $1 \phi$ plates were in use at the same time. Total quantities of U.S. postage stamps rose from 56.3 million in 1854 to 216.4 million in 1860, a nearly 4-fold increase in only 6 years. ${ }^{4}$

## 99R2 and e.k.u.

One of the rarest stamps in the collection was recognized as early as 1932, when the author's father, Paul R. Peak, corresponded with Stanley B. Ashbrook, a Cincinnati stockbroker recognized during his lifetime as the leading authority on the $1 \not \subset$ issue of 1851-57 and author of the two-volume definitive reference on those stamps. Ashbrook was a courteous and enthusiastic correspondent. Furnished enlarged photographic copies, he confirmed Paul's identification of a perforated Type III, 99 R2. In his response Ashbrook wrote, . . . And now for the surprise. Here is that rare old owl, namely 99 R 2, and how it shows up the shift down the right side. Read up on this stamp and then put your glass on it. Used in Oct. 1857, and a fine impression . . . ${ }^{5}$
Although they did not realize or comment on it, this cover remains the earliest known use of the perforated Type III, 99R2 on cover, today. ${ }^{6}$ The cover is shown in Figure 4. It was

[^8]

Figure 4. Perforated Type III, 99R2 1¢ Franklin stamp on cover, from J.J. Richards in Chicago to E. Armitage Bros. in Exeter, III. It contains a grain market letter dated 26 October 1857 and is postmarked 27 October 1857. Earliest known use of a perforated 99R2 on cover.
sent by J.J. Richards in Chicago on 27 October 1857 to E. Armitage Bros. at Exeter Illinois and contains a grain market letter dated 26 October 1857.

## Use of Perforated Stamps

Although the first official use of perforated stamps in the United States was on 28 February 1857, they were introduced on a limited basis. Armitage Mill was still receiving market letters from Chicago with imperforate $1 \phi$ Franklin stamps postmarked as late as 17 August 1857. The first officially perforated stamp in the collection is postmarked 10 October 1857, from Chicago, and is from the same Plate (Type IV, 17RIL).

## History of the Armitage Covers

In 1840 a great westward expansion was underway in the United States. The population had grown to 17 million, and immigrants were arriving at the rate of 80,000 per year, mostly from England, Ireland and Germany. Among them was the family of Elihu and Judith Johnson Armitage of Cawthorne, Yorkshire, England, and 11 of their 13 children. Elihu Armitage was a skilled miller who had sold his mill and home in Cawthorne to find new opportunity in the United States. His oldest son, Elihu Armitage, Jr., was 21 years old and a journeyman miller.

Elihu Armitage Sr. tried several ventures in Illinois before buying the 30 -year-old Exeter Mill on the Mauvaisterre Creek in Scott County in 1853. He made the mill the center of a family business, and he was joined by all of his sons, including Elihu Jr., now married to Elizabeth Jones from Scott County. Their first child, Ada Armitage, was born on 16 July 1845, the oldest of 9 children. Ada was to play a vital role in the preservation of the covers. This author, as a child, met her several times before her death in 1940.

There is no firm information why the Armitage family saved these covers and market letters. Perhaps they were intended as a record of the grain market on those days when the renamed Armitage Mill made a significant transaction.

As time went on, ownership of the mill passed from Elihu Sr. to his four sons, and then to Elihu Jr., who bought out the shares of his brothers. A lithograph of the mill property is shown in Figure 5. During this time, Ada married Henry Scott Peak on 20 September 1865 in her father's home, a fine two-story brick residence near the mill. Elihu Armitage Jr. remained the sole owner of the mill until it was shut down and dismantled in the 1880 s . The two-story residence is still in use, although the other buildings and the mill shown in Figure 7 have long been dismantled.

Although Henry Scott Peak and Ada had three children, it turned out that Paul Reed Peak was to be the only grandchild of Ada and Henry Scott Peak, and the only greatgrandchild of Elizabeth and Elihu Armitage Jr.


Figure 5. $19^{\text {th }}$ century depiction of the Exeter Mill property in Scott County, Illinois, owned by Elihu Armitage Jr. The mill and mill dam across the Mauvaisterre Creek were dismantled in the 1880s but the fine two-story residence is still in use.

## A Lifelong Philatelist

Paul began collecting stamps in 1903 at the age of 9 . When he was a teenager, Ada gave him a boxful of mill letters and postcards, which had been gathering dust for half a century. Paul recognized that the collection included stamps of potential value, particularly the $1 \varnothing$ Franklin stamps of the issue of 1851-57. He eagerly accepted them and had the pleasure that only a few collectors have, of being the first person to sort through a large assortment of potentially valuable stamps. He also recognized that the stamps were more valuable on the covers with postmarks and kept the remaining market letters intact and inside the envelopes. The Armitage covers were the continuing pleasure of Paul Reed Peak. He would occasionally attend a stamp show and offer a few of them for sale, but I doubt that he sold many. However, there are some in circulation, and I hope this history
will be of interest to those who own them. By 1980 his four sons, of whom the author is one, had inherited the collection and decided to frame one cover for each of the descendants of Paul and Verl Peak to the third generation. The frame encloses the cover with the market letter still inside, and also a copy of the lithograph shown in Figure 7. On the back of the frame is a copy of the market letter, and a note showing the direct ancestors of the owner, back to Elihu Armitage, Sr. Thirty-seven of the covers have been framed and distributed in this fashion, leaving exactly 99 in the collection.

## Acknowledgements

The author is deeply indebted to W. Wilson Hulme II for his advice and counsel on dealing with the collection, to Richard C. Celler for plating the collection, and to Ken Lawrence for first informing me about the Chicago perforations. These gentlemen, all members of the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., represent the best of philatelists in their knowledge, professionalism and courtesy.


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# THE 1869 PERIOD <br> SCOTT R. TREPEL, Editor 

## THE RATES TO GREECE FROM THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1869 AND 1871 JEFFREY M. FORSTER

Although the 1869 Pictorial Issue stamps were only available at the post offices for about ten months, covers to many foreign destinations exist. The most frequent usages are those to France, Germany and Great Britain; covers to more exotic countries do exist but their numbers are quite limited. Covers to Greece are scant, and by my records only six such covers are known to exist. This article will focus on these covers and the foreign rates to Greece from the United States during the 1869 period when stamps from the 1869 issue were used to make up the rate to Greece. The article will also describe how those covers were transported by the various mail services to Greece.

In the time period that we are talking about, the rates to Greece were carried primarily by the North German Union mail. There are two other rates that existed in this time period. One is the $20 \notin$ rate by British mail, which went into effect January 1, 1870 and was effective until July 1875 when the Universal Postal Union rates went into effect and the rate became 5申. I know of no covers with 1869 stamps on them showing the British mail rate.

The other rate that should be mentioned is the $16 \notin$ rate via Italian mail that went into effect in February 1871 and lasted until July 1875. As with the British mail rate, there are no 1869 covers known to exist with this rate.

## Closed Mail via England

As I mentioned above, the primary mail service carrying letters to Greece was the North German Union mail. Table I shows the two North German Union rates that were in effect in the 1869-1871 time period. The first rate was $23 \not \subset$ for a $15 \operatorname{gram}$ (per $1 / 2$ ounce) letter

| Table 1 <br> Rates to Greece 1869-1871* |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Date | Closed Mail via England NGU Mail Service | Direct Mail via Bremen or Hamburg - NGU Mail Service |
| June 1868 | 23¢ | $18 ¢$ |
| July 1870 | 18¢ | 15¢ |
|  |  | (No direct service available between mid July and October 1870 due to Franco-Prussian War) |
| Oct. 1871 | 15¢ | 140 |
| July 1875 | 5¢ | $5 ¢$ |
| UPU |  |  |
| *Charles J. Starnes, United States Letter Rates to Foreign Destinations 1847-GPU-UPU, rev. ed. (Louisville, Ky.: Leonard H. Hartman, Philatelic Bibliopole, 1989), p. 20. All rates are per $1 / 2$ ounce. Effective in 1868, postal convention provided that the weight of a single note be 15 grams. Because the United States used ounces as a weight measure, the notes to postmasters were given in $1 / 2$ ounces. Nonetheless, the exchange offices per the treaties in effect weighed the letters in grams, and since $1 / 2$ ounce only weighs 14.18 grams, there were differences in the rating of letters. (See George Hargest, History of Letter Post Communications Between the United States and Europe 1845-1875; 2nd ed. (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, Inc., 1975). |  |  |

via closed mail through Great Britain, carried by the North German Union mail. This 23ф rate was in effect from January 1, 1868, until June 30, 1870. On July 1, 1870, the 23¢ rate became $18 \not \subset$ and lasted until October 1871 when the rate then became $15 ¢$. Mails were transported in closed mail bags from the United States exchange offices through Great Britain to the Verviers-Coeln (Cologne) traveling post office (traveling by rail). Until July 1, 1870, letters sent from the United States in closed mail via Great Britain bore the marking of the traveling post office, Verviers-Cologne. This marking was inscribed in four straight lines; Verviers, and then a date, Coeln, and then finally FRANCO with this marking applied in red to prepaid letters. A similar marking without FRANCO was applied in blue to unpaid or insufficiently paid letters. In the Hamburg office, these rectangular box markings of at least two types inscribe Hamburg, the date and then FRANCO, applied in red. The Bremen post office also used a box inscribed Bremen, then the date and then FRANCO, which was applied in purple until early 1869 and thereafter in red. ${ }^{1}$

Letters were put into closed bags and crossed the Atlantic to Liverpool or other British ports aboard an American or British packet. From there, they crossed England by rail to a channel port, from which they went by steamer to Ostend, Belgium, and then by rail across Belgium to Verviers. They then went on to the Verviers-Coeln railroad and the Aachen exchange office. There, the bags were opened and the mail processed.

To indicate prepayment of letters dispatched by the New York office to the VerviersCoeln traveling office, a circular marking inscribed New York, PAID ALL, the date and BR transit was applied in red. Letters sent to the office of Bremen or Hamburg bear circular markings showing the United States exchange office, the date and PAID ALL. Those from the New York and Boston offices were also inscribed DIRECT. ${ }^{2}$


Figure 1. Nov. 14, 1869 cover from Evanston, III., to Athens, Greece, franked with $\mathbf{2 x 1 0}$ c and one 3c 1869 issues, demonstrating 23c U.S. to Greece rate for closed mail through Great Britain via the North German Union

[^9]Although the United States offices marked prepaid transit letters with the amount of credit to the North German Union mail for the foreign postage of the United States in United States cents, the German offices also marked the letters with the same amounts in silbergroschen. These German markings are usually preceded by the letter "f," abbreviating FRANCO, meaning "paid" (or by "Wfr," abbreviating "Weiter FRANCO," literally "paid beyond"). ${ }^{3}$

The $23 ¢$ rate was for a 15 gram letter, was carried by the North German Union mail service following the letter's arrival in Great Britain. The basic rate to Germany at this time was $15 \phi$ per half ounce. The $8 \not \subset$ over and above the $15 \phi$ rate to Germany was for the transit postage between Germany and Greece. When the rate to Germany decreased in July 1870 to $10 \notin$ per half ounce, the total rate then became $18 \notin(10 \notin$ plus $8 \not \subset)$. In October 1871, the rate to Germany became $7 \phi$ and therefore, the closed mail rate to Greece was $15 \phi$.

The cover shown in Figure 1 depicts the $23 \phi$ rate via closed mails through Great Britain. It is a cover from Evanston, Illinois, to Athens, Greece, dated November 14, 1869, and has on it a pair of $10 \notin(S c o t t$ No. 116) and a $3 \phi(S c o t t$ No. 114). There is a 16 November PAID ALL British transit exchange marking on the reverse. The cover appears to have been carried by the Westphalia of the Hamburg-American line. The 8 credit endorsement is for the transit postage beyond Germany to Greece, for a letter weighing 15 grams. The letter is addressed to Charles Haskin, care of the American Consulate. The cover shows the VERVIERS FRANCO marking dated 11/21/69 and also has the Coeln receiving marking. There is a black PD, which means paid to destination. The f3 is meant to reflect 3 silbergroschen, a restatement of the foreign postage of $8 \varnothing$.

Of the 6 covers to Greece featuring 1869 stamps, a second one (not illustrated here) shows the double $23 \notin$ closed mail rate for total postage of $46 \not \subset$. This cover also originated in Evanston, Illinois, postmarked November 17, 1869, addressed to Athens, Greece, with two $3 \notin$ (No. 114), a $30 \phi$ orange (No. 71) and a $10 \notin$ green E grill (Scott No. 89). The November 17, 1869, Evanston postmark is shown on the front and also on the reverse along with a red New York exchange marking and an Athens receiving mark. This postage paid the double $23 \phi$ rate closed mail via Great Britain. It too has the Verviers-Coeln FRANCO markings and a black PD indicating paid to destination. The date below the FRANCO marking is indistinct, however, there is a red credit 16 , which is the double 8 credit or $16 \not \subset$ for carriage beyond Germany to Greece. There is a blue 2 in the upper left hand corner indicating a double weight rate cover. Charles Haskin is also the addressee of this cover.

## The Direct Mail Rate

The $18 \phi$ rate direct via North German Union mail to Greece was in effect from June 1868 to June 30, 1870 when it became 15ф. From mid-July 1870 to the end of October 1870, no direct rate existed as mail service from Germany to Greece was suspended during that time due to the Franco-Prussian War. In October 1871, the rate for direct mail via the North German mail to Greece became 14¢.

On June 1, 1868, a new mail convention was entered into with the North German Postal Union which had been formed under Prussia's leadership because of that country's victory in the Prussian-Austrian War and its acquisition of the postal rights and facilities from the princes of Thurn and Taxis. ${ }^{4}$ This new treaty provided for "direct mail" aboard ships sailing directly between the United States and Germany and for "closed mail via England."

[^10]

Figure 2. 15c 1867 Lincoln and pair of 2c 1869 pictorials on an Oct. 25, 1869 cover from Knobnoster, Mo. to Athens, overpaying by 1¢ the 18¢ direct rate to Greece via the North German Union


Figure 3. Jan. 5, 1870 cover, Providence, R.I. to Athens, Greece, with 3c and $15 ¢ 1869$ pictorials paying the 18¢ direct rate to Greece via the North German Union

The direct mail rate commencing in June 1868 was $18 \Varangle$. This rate was effective until June 30, 1870, when it became 15¢. Because of the Franco-Prussian War, the rate was inapplicable because service had been suspended between August 1870 and the end of October 1870. In October 1871, this rate became 14ф. Direct mail service via Bremen usually had a 3.5 silbergroschen marking, which is the equivalent of $8 \Varangle$, representing the credit to the North German Union mail for the Bremen to Greece transit.

Figure 2 is a cover from Knobnoster, Missouri postmarked October 25, 1869 to Athens, Greece, illustrating the $18 \not \subset$ direct rate. It has a pair of the $2 \notin 1869$ stamps (Scott No. 113) with a $15 ¢$ black E grill (Scott No. 98) tied by the black target cancels, overpaying the $18 \notin$ rate. The other markings on the cover include a red boxed Bremen, dated September 11, 1869 and FRANCO. There is a black PD indicating paid to destination. This cover is addressed to Charles Haskin, the same addressee as in the two covers mentioned above.

A second cover illustrating the $18 \propto$ direct rate via the North German Union mail is at Figure 3. This cover has a $15 \phi$ (Scott No. 119) and a $3 \phi$ (Scott No. 114) to Athens, Greece. It bears a January 5, 1870, postmark of Providence, Rhode Island. An unusual grid of black dots cancels both stamps. The " 8 " in manuscript shown on the cover means that credit was given to Germany for transit beyond Germany to Greece. The cover also has a WF 3.5 marking showing the credit to the North German Union mail for the Bremen to Athens leg of 3.5 silbergroschen or $8 \not \subset$. It also has a black PD indicating paid to destination. This cover was addressed to Reverend J.H. Hill in Athens. This is a colorful cover because of the black grid of dots canceling the stamps and the red Providence, Rhode Island, marking. Although the stamp is not tied, the cover is rather pretty with its various colors. It was sold at the Walter Hubbard sale held by Robert A. Siegel on January 30, 1981.

The North German Union closed mail rate became 18ф in July 1870, and that rate continued until October, 1871. Shown in Figure 4 is a cover with a $15 \phi$ (Scott No. 119) and a


Figure 4. Oct. 31, 1870 cover from Providence, R.I. to Athens, Greece, with a $3 c$ Bank Note and a 15¢ 1869 pictorial, paying the 1870-71 closed mail rate to Greece via the North German Union
$3 \phi$ green (No. 147) from Providence, Rhode Island, to Athens, Greece with an October 31, 1870, postmark in black. In fact, the marking appears on the cover twice, canceling the stamps as well. There is a red New York November 2 transit marking on the front and the usual black PD indicating the postage paid the rate to the destination. A red crayon manuscript " 8 " shows the credit for carriage beyond Germany and there is a "Wien 1870 " transit back stamp and an Athens arrival marking on the reverse as well. An f3 in blue crayon on the front is crossed out by a blue 11 in crayon. This cover is also addressed to the Reverend J.H. Hill in Athens.


Figure 5. Feb. 8, 1870 East Saginaw, Mi. cover to Athens, Greece, franked with a $3 ¢$ and $2 \times 6 ¢$ 1869 pictorials, indorsed for closed mail via England and bearing a Feb. 23 LONDON PAID marking, but apparently short-paid by $\mathbf{8} \mathbf{c}$ for North German Union closed mail

The sixth cover to Greece using the 1869 Pictorial Issue (Figure 5) is one that remains somewhat of a mystery. On it are two single $6 \notin$ (Scott No. 115) stamps used with a $3 \notin$ (Scott No. 114) dated February 8, 1870, with stamps tied by black quartered cork cancel. The cover originated in East Saginaw, Michigan. Also appearing is a red "LONDON PAID" and a " 12 " British credit with a manuscript "closed mail via England." However, the rate in February 1870 was $18 ¢$ direct and $23 ¢$ closed mail so this letter was obviously short paid. It is addressed to Charles Haskin, care of the American Consulate, Although there is a red LONDON PAID 23 February 1870 marking on the front, there are none of the distinctive markings we have seen on the other five covers to Greece.

Perhaps it is best explained by the fact that it was sent via England as closed mail and accepted as that but was short paid by $8 \phi$. It is difficult to see whether or not any stamps fell off but there are no "short paid" or "insufficiently paid" markings on the cover from the photograph showing the cover when it sold at the Margaret Wensch sale held in 1978.

Listed in Table 2 are the six covers to Greece discussed above and reflecting both the direct and closed mail rates to Greece via the North German Union mail.

| Table 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Census of 1869 Pictorial Issues used to Greece |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Date | Origin/dest. | Stamps | Rate | Remarks | Source |
| 1. | 11/14/69 | Evanston, III./ Athens | 114, 116(2) | 236 <br> CMVE | only 23 c rate cover with | author coll. |
|  |  |  |  |  | 1869 stamps |  |
|  | 11/17/69 | Evanston, III./ Athens | 71, 89, 114(2), | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \times 23 \phi \\ & \text { CMVE } \end{aligned}$ | only double weight 23¢ | ex R. Cutts, Siegel sale 777, |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | lot 125 |
|  | 10/25/69 | Knobnoster, Mo /Athens | $98,113(2)$ | 18¢ direct | 14 overpaid | Midwest coll., Siegel sale 642, |
|  |  |  |  | mail |  | lot 628 |
|  | 1/5/70 | Providence, R.I. | 114, 119 | 18¢ | Unusual black | ex W. Hubbard, |
|  |  | /Athens |  | direct | grid of dots | Siegel sale 590, |
|  |  |  |  | mail | cancels stamps | lot 400 |
|  | 2/8/70 | East Saginaw, | 114, 115(2) | 236 | short paid | ex Wunsch, |
|  |  | Mi./Athens |  | CMVE? |  | Siegel sale 529, |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | lot 389 |
| 6. | 10/31/70 | Providence, R.I. | 119, 147 | 18¢ | Providence cds | ex Haas, Stanley |
|  |  | /Athens |  | CMVE | cancels stamps; | Gibbons sale |
|  |  |  |  |  | use after CMVE | May 1980; ex |
|  |  |  |  |  | rate reduced | S. Albert, Frajola |
|  |  |  |  |  | to 18¢ on 7/1/70 | net price sale, |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | 11/1989, lot 19 |
|  |  | CMVE = closed | mail via England |  |  |  |

## Some Final Observations

Only six covers exist with 1869 stamps paying part or all of the carriage to Greece. Only two addressees are reflected on those covers, Reverend J. H. Hill and Charles Haskin. If any readers have additional covers to Greece with 1869 stamps on them, I would be most appreciative of hearing from them and will include them on an updated listing in a future issue of the Chronicle.

In closing, the covers shown here and the rates and usages described lend themselves very nicely to an analysis of how the North German Union mail rates were used for letters sent to destinations beyond Germany. The $8 \notin$ for carriage beyond Germany is consistent in the covers shown here. As indicated at the outset, the 1868 Treaty provided for direct mail service and had a basic $10 \notin$ rate between the United States and Germany with mail carried either via Hamburg or Bremen. For mails beyond Germany, an additional amount was added to the rate to provide for additional service. This same Treaty also had provisions for closed mails through England via North German Union mails, at the higher basic rate of $15 \phi$ with mails beyond Germany subject to this same premium as if carried by direct mail.

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## CONFEDERATE STATES

THE 10¢ HOYER AND LUDWIG PRINTING PLATES AND IMPRINTS © 2003 LEONARD H. HARTMANN


Figure 1. Hoyer and Ludwig upper and lower gutter block in Blue, Positions 41-41 \& 1-2

Hoyer and Ludwig of Richmond created the original image and printed the first general issue stamps for the Confederate States of America starting in November 1861. Their early prints were well executed and relatively free of sloppy workmanship: plate layout and printing are normally quite well done. This is true for Scott's No. 1, the $5 \varnothing$ Green from Stone A-B and Stone 1, in addition to Scott's No. 2, the $10 \notin$ Blue, and Scott's No. 3, the $2 \notin$ Green. This observation is especially true for the $10 \notin$ Blue as the stamps are quite evenly spaced on the both the transfer and printing stones and the color is almost always a clear deep blue with sharp impressions.

I never paid much attention to the production of the $10 \propto$ Hoyer and Ludwig stamps; they are a bit difficult to plate because of the excellent workmanship. Everything was as it should be, there are no indication of significant plate damage, misplaced transfers or of more than one printing stone. An extremely attractive but dull stamp to study.

The Imprints


LITH OT HOYER \& LUDLITG, RICHMONP, VA.
Two imprints are known. The illustrations here presented were made direct from marginal blocks and strips formerly in the Deats collection. They occupy nearly the same position on each pane-below the famous "White Arrow" variety, extending below the 95th and 96th stamps on the right pane, and the 95 th, 96 th and 97 th stamps on the left pane.

It is to be noted that the stamp sections above these two distinctly different imprints are identical in their somewhat irregular alignment-an evidence that both panes' transfer groups were taken from the same secondary stone.

These imprints were not transferred to the printing stone, but added by hand-lettering, drawn in reverse.

Figure 2. Hoyer and Ludwig Right (upper) and Left (lower) imprints per August Dietz, The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America, 1929

With the CSA lithographs there seems to be a continuing discovery of new information. The Schuyler Rumsey sale of December 4-6, 2002 was a revelation with respect to the $10 \notin$ Hoyer and Ludwig stamps. Lot 2328 is a nicely margined, well printed block of four of the $10 \notin$ Lithograph in Blue that is definitely the Hoyer \& Ludwig printing, however at first glance it was a surprise (Figure 1). Evidently noticeable, the upper and lower horizontal stamps nearly touch unlike the normal even margins for this stamp.

The basic plating of this block is normal with respect to the transfer stone positions. The top pair represents positions 41-42 and the lower positions 1-2. Positions 41-42 show a slight tilting, unusual for Hoyer and Ludwig. However it originates on the transfer stone and thus is normal for these positions. It is seen in all four transfer stone units on the printing plate. We have a gutter block consisting of the upper and lower transfer units. The almost overlapping of these stamps between the two transfer units is decidedly unusual. The only surviving pane of 100 of the $10 \notin$ Hoyer and Ludwig is from the Right Pane in Blue and is illustrated in August Dietz's The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America, page 118. These positions are closer than normal but are not nearly as close as our block. Thus it is definitely not from this Right Pane.

A search for the Left Pane initially proved elusive. A section turned up in the Hall sale only to uncover another problem. A half pane, lower setting of the $10 \notin$ Hoyer was in the R.A. Siegel sale of the Hall collection, December 17, 2001, lot 151. It is well illustrated in the catalog and I was able to examine it before the auction. It is evidently the Left Pane as it has a more than ample left sheet margin and even shows the left edge of the printing stone. By left and right I am referring to the printed stamps, the actual printing stone would be the reverse. This block shows upper margins for positions 1-2 that are not possible with our subject block of 4 . We thus now have a second printing stone for the $10 \varnothing$ Hoyer as it does not match these right and left sections. A misplaced transfer for our block of four is unlikely, though possible. At least one pair would have to be re-entered and the spacing is extremely close.

The Hall block of 50 was described as being the Right Pane and not the Left, which leads us to the second part of this study. Scott Trepel advised that they described this block as the Right Pane because of the position of the imprint. In the 1929 Dietz book, Left and Right imprints are illustrated and described on page 116 (Figure 2). The full Right Pane is also illustrated on page 118. Dietz properly attributed the position of the Right Pane imprint. The imprint "LITH. OF HOYER \& LUDWIG, RICHMOND, VA." in the full right pane has the "G" of Ludwig between positions 95 and 96. Dietz shows another imprint that has this "G" under the center of position 96, a most evident difference. One can assume Dietz had not seen the Hall block of 50 and thus deduced the other imprint was from the Left Pane. I do not think Dietz realized the existence of multiple printing stones for a given issue. He also concluded the imprints were drawn by hand on the printing plate as the two imprints are different, the Dietz's Left one is about $10 \%$ longer than the Right, 42 mm versus 37 mm . We illustrate the Right Pane imprint in Blue (Figure 3) and in Red (Figure 4). An example of the Right $10 ¢$ Red imprint that appears to show a portion of "Richmond" erased or perhaps a poorly inked impression is shown at Figure 5. To speculate on this last stamp at this time would be without basis but it is being shown should another similar example be reported.

A search of the imprints for the Hoyer \& Ludwig $10 \notin$ in both the Blue and Red printings has only found the positioning for the one described as the Right Pane, all examples known to the author are identical. For the Right pane there are at least four unused examples in Red and a few more in Blue along with a larger number of used Red singles but only a few used Blue singles. The identical positioning of the imprint for the lower settings of the left and right pane is easily explained by the imprint being on the transfer stone. For the upper setting the margin was cut off when the printing plate was laid down.


Figure 3. Hoyer and Ludwig Right imprint in Blue


Figure 4. Hoyer and Ludwig Right imprint in Red


Figure 5. Hoyer and Ludwig Right imprint in Red, Richmond partly erased or incomplete printing

In conclusion, the commonly found printings for the $10 \notin$ Hoyer and Ludwig in both Blue and Red appear to be from one printing stone, since the Left and Right imprints are identical. A second printing stone with a slightly different imprint and position of the imprint, in addition to the poor spacing between the upper and lower transfer stone units, evidently exists, at least for the Blue printing. We assume these two deviations from the norm are on the same printing stone but this may or may not be the case. We need to look for other examples that suggest a second printing stone. Remember, the $5 \notin$ Stone 2 stamps were printed from at least three different printing stones without considering the misplaced transfers that may well represent another stone or stones.

The imprint that Dietz attributed to the Left pane has not been seen by your author. If any one owns or has seen an example showing the Left imprint please advise, the information would be most appreciated. At least one must have existed.

A special thanks to Jerry S. Palazolo, Scott Trepel, Schuyler J. Rumsey, Jack E. Molesworth, M.C. O'Reilly and S.Y. Trimble V for their assistance in this article.

## USAGES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OFFICIAL STAMPS ALAN C. CAMPBELL <br> Introduction

In past articles, I have expressed the hope that we would one day see specialized exhibits of individual departments. Since most of the key covers are presently in the tight grasp of either Lester C. Lanphear III or Robert L. Markovits (veteran collectors who have dominated the field for over twenty years), I expected we would first see a newcomer exhibiting one of the four departments-Treasury, War, Interior or Post Office-where covers are more readily available. Lanphear had broken ground with a five frame exhibit of the Department of Interior which won an international gold at Granada in 1992, and also had shown exhibits of the Post Office Department and War and Navy combined, prior to going public with his big exhibit in 1993. Yet it was Theodore O. Lockyear, a lawyer from Evansville, Indiana who first burst on the scene in 1995, showing of all things a superb collection of the Department of Justice. Despite occasional tantalizing rumors from Midwestern dealers, Mr. Lockyear had kept a low profile while assembling this material over many years. His grandfather Elmer, a lawyer who founded the small family firm, was born in 1868, two years before the Department of Justice was formed. In 1972, having rejected the notion of collecting coins because at the time dealers were asking $\$ 300$ for a 1909 VDBS Lincoln penny, Mr. Lockyear became intrigued by the official stamps of the Department of Justice. His first purchases, at a Siegel auction in 1972, were mint blocks of the $15 \phi$ and $30 \phi$, an auspicious beginning, since these are still the only recorded blocks of any Justice values higher than the $12 \phi$, and are the only two blocks missing from Robert L . Markovits' otherwise complete showing.

Mr. Lockyear's first significant cover purchases were made in 1981 at the auction of Rae Ehrenberg's collection. Justice covers have always been scarce. The great pioneer specialist in this field, Congressman Ackerman, had managed to amass 19 by the time his holdings were auctioned off in 1933, an astounding feat considering that the Goff correspondence had not yet come to market. In no other department are the surviving covers so dominated by a single correspondence as they are in Justice, where the majority of usages derive from mail sent to Jasper Y. Moore, Esquire, Clerk of the U.S. District Court, and Nathan Goff Jr., Esquire, U.S. Attorney in Clarksburg, West Virginia. It has long been assumed that these covers together represent the spoils of a single find, but as this article will demonstrate, although the Moore and Goff covers may have been liberated from the archives at the same time in the distant past, they reached the market at different times. Ackerman, Hughes and Waud had access to Moore covers, but not to Goff covers. Goff covers trickled out from the 1960s through the 1980s, but it wasn't until the balance of the find was sold at public auction in 1998 that Mr. Lockyear was able to achieve the ne plus ultra of departmental collecting, showing every Justice value on hard and soft paper on cover, a feat previously accomplished only by Mr. Lanphear's showing of Executive covers. This article will document the challenges faced by Mr. Lockyear in attaining his goal.

## Historical Background

Although the Office of Attorney General had existed since 1789, the Department of Justice which the Attorney General heads was not created until 1870. Previously, the duties of the Attorney General were to prosecute suits for the federal government in the Supreme Court and to give opinions on matters of law to the President and his Cabinet. The position was poorly paid and qualified candidates could only be attracted if they were allowed to maintain lucrative outside practices. Hence, the Attorney General was only
required to reside in the capital while the Supreme Court was in session.
The bill establishing the Department of Justice was signed by President Ulysses S. Grant on June 22, 1870. The nation's legal business was now statutorily centered in a single federal organization. A new office was created, that of Solicitor General, who would specialize in representing the government before the Supreme Court and also act as Attorney General in the case of the latter's absence or disability. The Attorney General supervised the law officers of other departments such as the Solicitor of the Treasury and the Solicitor of Internal Revenue. He was also in a position of tremendous power through patronage, since federal judges, U.S. attorneys and marshals are all appointed by the President based on the Attorney General's recommendations and advice, subject to confirmation by the Senate. Such appointments were often contentious, since Congressmen and Senators depended on having good working relationships with these local officers. Throughout the nineteenth century, much of the department was housed in two leased floors of a bank building on Pennsylvania Avenue, cramped quarters often without heat in the winter and permeated by foul sewer odors in the summer.
U.S. district attorneys prosecuted violations of federal laws in criminal cases in local district courts, and defended the government in civil cases. In the event of an appeal, it was heard by a Circuit Court presided over by the local federal judge and two Supreme Court justices, and if that decision was appealed to the Supreme Court, it was prosecuted by the Solicitor General. Caseloads at this time, both civil and criminal, were dominated by internal revenue taxation matters, with a lesser number of customs excise tax and post office suits. U.S. district attorneys were paid a nominal stipend of $\$ 200$ per annum at this time-a ludicrous sum considering that the U.S. Attorney for the southern district of New York, with the heaviest caseload by far in the country, had nine salaried assistants earning $\$ 1,500-\$ 5,000$ a year apiece. The U.S. attorneys earned their money instead through fees, a less than satisfactory arrangement which encouraged frivolous and vexatious prosecutions in trivial cases, on the one hand, and feeble prosecutions when up against well-represented wealthy defendants on the other.

Naturally, competent district attorneys were hard to find in less-populated areas, and many supplemented their income in other ways. This system of remuneration was not corrected until 1890.

United States marshals were paid in the same bizarre way. Their duties included attendance at the federal courts in their district, custody and transportation of prisoners, and execution of warrants and judgments of the courts. They functioned as the administrative officers of the federal courts. On the western frontier and in the South during Reconstruction, the job was extremely dangerous. In 1890, the Attorney General reported that in Indian Territory alone, twenty marshals a year were killed attempting to arrest notorious criminals. The clerks of the courts, who took in thousands of dollars annually in fees and emoluments belonging to the government and litigants, were required to be bonded, but often did so with doubtful securities. In general, control of the district attorneys and marshals was not centralized at this time, but was given over to their respective district judges, who were themselves not subject to uniform standards of procedure.

Enforcement problems in the South arising out of Reconstruction finally convinced Congress to appropriate money to the Department of Justice for detection of crimes. At first, the Department didn't set up its own detective force, but employed agents from the Treasury Department's Secret Service. After 1878, examiners were hired to investigate the accounts of district attorneys, U.S. marshals, clerks of courts and U.S. commissioners, and their workload became so heavy that more operatives were borrowed from the Secret Service. Finally, in 1909, the department's own Federal Bureau of Investigation was formed.

In its early years, the Department of Justice concentrated its efforts on trying to protect the constitutional rights of African-Americans in the South. President Grant, needing Southern support for some of his policies, appointed Amos Tappan Akerman of Georgia, who had served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, Attorney General (June 23, 1870-January 10, 1872), and it was he who organized the new department. The Enforcement Act of May 31, 1870 was enacted to punish the disenfranchisement of the freed slaves by force or intimidation, while the Ku Klux Klan Act of April, 1871 created civil and criminal liability for violence against individuals and authorized the President to employ federal troops to suppress violence. The Department of Justice sent down from the north U.S. Attorneys and marshals, but the so-called carpetbaggers were deeply unpopular. Ackerman was eventually forced to resign due to the Credit Mobilier scandal, and he was succeeded as Attorney General by George H. Williams of Oregon (December 14, 1871May 15, 1875), Edwards Pierrepont of New York (April 26, 1875-May 22, 1876) and Alphonso Taft of Ohio (May 22, 1876-March 11, 1877). All of Grant's Attorneys General in turn had to deal with violence in the South and encountered frustrating resistance in their efforts to protect the rights of African-Americans: witnesses were hard to find, juries were reluctant to convict, and the presence of Federal troops and carpetbagger U.S. marshals and district attorneys was deeply resented.

In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew all troops from the South, and on June 18, 1878, Congress forbade the use of federal troops as a marshal's posse comitatus, which in effect ended the protection of African-Americans' civil rights in the South. Hayes' Attorney General, Charles Devens of Massachusetts (March 12, 1877-March 6, 1881), was a learned man whose prolific opinions filled 900 pages in three volumes. Students of penalty franks will remember him as the author of an important 1877 ruling that Federal officers stationed outside the District of Columbia were not members of their departments. Rounding out the roster of Attorneys General who served during the period of official stamp validity (July 1, 1873-July 1, 1884) were Garfield appointee Wayne MacVeagh of Pennsylvania (March 5, 1881-October 24, 1881) and Arthur appointee Benjamin H. Brewster, also of Pennsylvania (December 19, 1881-March 5, 1885). ${ }^{1}$ During these years, the Department of Justice also controlled in the District of Columbia the Metropolitan Police, the United States Jail and a reform school, as well as various socalled marshal's jails in the outlying territories. Construction of federal penitentiaries did not begin until the turn of the century. ${ }^{2}$

## Distribution of Official Stamps

On January 5, 1874, at the first session of the 43rd Congress after the issuance of the official stamps, a resolution was passed asking all the secretaries to list the officers and employees of their respective departments who were being furnished official stamps. Attorney General George H. Williams replied that the Department of Justice had furnished official stamps to 54 U.S. District Attorney, 56 U.S. Marshals, and 62 clerks of the U.S. courts. Official stamps were also used on the correspondence of the department headquarters in Washington, D.C. and had also been furnished to the Office of the
'Mr. Lockyear has a small 1875 3¢ Justice cover addressed to Edwards Pierrepont, Attorney General, in New York. He also owns a legal size penalty cover addressed to Charles Devens posted in Helena, Montana Territory. One would not have expected official correspondence addressed to Attorneys General to have often gotten out into private hands, and these are the only two I know of.
${ }^{2}$ Much of this historical background is summarized or paraphrased from The Department of Justice by Luther A. Huston, Praeger, 1967. I also referred to the Annual Report of the AttorneyGeneral for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1874, a very thorough document with many mindnumbing tables of statistics.

Solicitor of the Treasury. In a few cases pertaining to the Court of Claims where the return papers were voluminous, official stamps had been enclosed to pay the return postage. ${ }^{3}$

For three years prior to the introduction of the official stamps (June 22, 1870-June 30, 1873), some mail of the fledgling Department of Justice would have been carried free of postage under the franking privilege. The Attorney General, his chief clerk, the Solicitor General and the solicitors of other departments-State, Treasury, Navy and Interior, which had been placed under the aegis of the Department of Justice-were all granted the franking privilege, but there is no evidence that it was ever granted to the U.S. district attorneys, U.S. marshals or clerks of the U.S. courts. ${ }^{4}$ Such an action may have been contemplated, however, since over the years I remember seeing a very few covers which had an unused printed line to receive a frank from such an officer. Traditionally, many collectors of official covers have been accustomed to introduce each department with a forerunner free frank envelope, but such a cover from the Department of Justice is almost impossible to find. The only one I have seen is owned by the great postal historian Richard B. Graham, It is a legal size cover to Atlanta, Georgia, postmarked Washington, D.C. Dec. 28 [1870]. The cover is endorsed "Personal" in the upper left, and under the Department of Justice corner card in the upper right the Official Business clause was crossed out and below it the frank of A.T. Ackerman, Attorney General was added. After 1869, printed or handstamped franking signatures were no longer valid, and those departments with a heavy volume of mail appointed a "franking clerk" whose sole duty apparently was to sign envelopes all day. Folded letters and covers franked by earlier Attorneys General prior to the formation of the Department of Justice are more readily available.

## Usages Outside of Washington, D.C.

Jurisdiction of the federal courts extended across all the states and territories, and because official stamps were supplied to the officers of all of these courts, in theory the usages should be extremely widespread. But as is so often the case with official covers, the survival rate for Justice covers is simply too low to give an accurate picture of how extensively these official stamps were used. Justice stamps were furnished to 56 U.S. Marshals, but only a single cover with a U.S. Marshal corner card has survived, posted from Trenton, New Jersey. This cover, with a pair of $2 \notin$ stamps overpaying the $3 \notin$ domestic rate, is illustrated in Figure 1, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III. 62 clerks of the U.S. courts were furnished with Justice official stamps, but only two bankruptcy notices from Dubuque, Iowa have survived. The 54 U.S. district attorneys who were furnished stamps would have carried on much heavier correspondences than their associated marshals, but the surviving postal history is not much better. Outside of the capital, the envelopes prepared for the use of the various officers of the federal courts bear corner cards that are completely unstandardized, indicating that they were locally printed to order. In Figure 2, courtesy of Theodore Lockyear, we illustrate a small $6 \notin$ cover from the Office of the U.S. Attorney posted in Newark, New Jersey. In the following census, we record all Justice covers posted outside of Washington, D.C. All are $3 \phi$ single domestic rates unless otherwise noted.

| 1. Denver, Colorado | $2 \phi$ local rate, H. C. Alleman, U.S. | RLM (ex-Waud) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. Lewiston, Idaho | Attorney, Denver, Colorado, small cover no corner card, addressed to Jack- | LCL |
| Territory | sonville, Oregon |  |
| 3. Chicago, Illinois | $2 \not \subset$ local rate, Office of United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois, small cover | TOL |

[^11]3. ghtargitals Office, TRENTON, N. J.


Figure 1. 2¢ Justice pair overpaying the single domestic rate from the U.S. Marshal, Trenton, New Jersey (courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III)

Office of
3. District Attorney,

Newark N. J.



Figure 2. 6¢ Justice paying double the domestic rate from the Office of the U.S. District Attorney, Newark, New Jersey (courtesy of Theodore O. Lockyear)

| 4. Joliet, Illinois | no corner card, small cover | TOL (Lehto \#689) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5. Davenport, Iowa | James E. Lane, U.S. Attorney, Davenport, Iowa, small cover | TOL |
| 6. Dubuque, Iowa | $1 \not \subset$ circular rate, U.S. District Clerk's Office, District of Iowa, In Bankruptcy, small folded notice | RLM (ex-Waud) |
| 7. Dubuque, Iowa | $1 \not \subset$ circular rate, U.S. District Clerk's Office, District of Iowa, In Bankruptcy, small folded notice, blue cancel | CJS (Hughes \#225) |
| 8. Detroit, Michigan | U.S. District Attorney's Office, small blue cover | TOL |
| 9. Grand Rapids, Michigan | M. C. Burch, U.S. Attorney, Western District Michigan, small cover | TOL (Ackerman \#82, Christie's 12/14/89 \#732) |
| 10. Jefferson City, Missouri | no corner card, small cover | TOL |
| 11. St. Louis, Missouri | Eastern District of Missouri, U.S. Attorney's Office, obsolete legal size free frank envelope to I.T. | TOL |
| 12. St. Louis, Missouri | U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of Missouri, Custom House, St. Louis, small cover ragged at right | RCH |
| 13. Helena, Montana Territory | $6 \notin$ double domestic rate, hand-written "O.B." cc., legal size, to Virginia City | TOL |
| 14. Montana Terr. | not confirmed | ?(ex-L. Peterson) |
| 15. Newark, N.J. | $6 \not \subset$ double domestic rate, Office of U.S. District Attorney, small cover | TOL(ex-Arch, Ehrenberg \#282) |
| 16. Trenton, N.J. | $2 \phi$ pair overpaying $3 \phi$ rate, U.S Marshal's Office, Trenton, N.J., legal size, reduced at left | LCL |
| 17. Cincinnati, Ohio | $2 \notin$ pair paying double local rate, United States District Attorney, Cincinnati, O., legal cover reduced through cc. | CJS |
| 18. Washington Territory | $3 \notin$ vertical pair paying $6 \notin$ double domestic rate, no corner card, small cover to Washington, D.C. | RLM (ex-Waud) |

Once again, we must round out our study of how these stamps were used by studying the cancellations on off-cover used Justice stamps. Identifiable killers from such major cities as New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Chicago, Boston, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Pittsburgh and Louisville are readily found. The distinctive blue cancellations of Chicago and the numeral cancellations of Cincinnati are especially common, and survive in such quantities as to suggest that the federal courts there generated a vast amount of mail. There even exists a complete strike of the famous Chicago pool table killer on a horizontal pair of $3 \phi$ Justice stamps (formerly in the collection of Clyde Jennings). Cancellations struck in blue canceling ink (never used in Washington, D.C.) are readily found on all values through the 904 , indicating that the U.S. Attorneys and Clerks of the U.S. Courts were regularly requisitioning higher values for their heavy mails. Smeary magenta cancellations have been reported on all values, but the town of origin for these remains a mystery. The variety of hand-carved killers to be found on Justice stamps is only limited by the fact that they were mostly used from the larger cities where the federal courthouse of the district was apt to be located. Most states and territories had only one district court then, but some of the larger or more populous states had two or three. In his exhibit collection, Mr. Lockyear has assembled extensive and unsurpassable studies of these cancellations. The commercially prepared vulcanized rubber cancellations of the late 1870s and 1880s are
rarely found on Justice stamps for two reasons: first, they were mostly sold to small third class post offices where no Justice mail would ever have been posted; and second, the Department of Justice converted quickly to the use of penalty franks, not only at the departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C. but across the nation. The expanded use of these rubber killers in small post offices and steel barred ellipses in larger post offices directly coincided with severely diminished use of Justice stamps during the transitional period, 1877-1884. Legible socked-on-the-nose postmarks on Justice stamps are scarce, except from Cincinnati, where the postmaster routinely ignored postal regulations against using the postmark to cancel stamps. Robert L. Markovits has a $3 ¢$ Justice stamp with a very early Dakota Territory postmark dated July 28, 1873, a remarkable item considering how few postmarks of this era incorporated the year date.

## Usages from Washington, D.C.

The foregoing historical survey indicates that during this period, the U.S. district attorneys, clerks of the courts, and U.S. marshals were not closely supervised by the departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C., which suggests that perhaps the volume of official mail going in either direction was not particularly heavy. As is the case for all departments, any official letters sent back to Washington, D.C. might have had their stamps removed by clerks in the capital, but rarely did the covers survive intact in the archives to be liberated at some later date by a collector. There are no recorded Justice covers with a Washington, D.C. government address. But thanks to the surviving Goff and Moore correspondences to Clarksburg, West Virginia, we have a sense of the volume of mail that originated at the departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C. going out to a relatively small jurisdiction. Surely the volume of official correspondence going to the Southern District of New York ( 4,320 civil suits pending on July 1, 1874, versus 18 in West Virginia) would have been exponentially much larger. What happened to all these covers? The West Virginia covers survived presumably because their contents were filed away in the original docketed envelopes, and a similar procedure must have been followed in other jurisdictions. These files would have been located in the offices of the federal district courthouse. Over the years, files would have been purged, especially in anticipation of moving to new premises. But could there not still exist somewhere, moldering away in the basement of a beloved landmark building, the archives of another


Figure 3. 1¢ Justice paying the unsealed circular rate from Washington, D.C. to Jasper Y. Moore, Clerk of the U.S. District Court in Clarksburg, West Virginia (courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III)
long-dead U.S. district attorney, just waiting to be discovered by a philatelic sleuth? I hesitate to mention it, because this sounds like a good summer pastime for my own retirement, but likely prospects would include states that have experienced the smallest population growth over the intervening years.

In the 1870 s, Jasper Y. Moore was the Clerk of the United States District Court in Clarksburg, West Virginia. The most important surviving covers addressed to him are $1 申$ and $2 \phi$ usages. Ackerman's $1 \not \subset$ and $2 \notin$ Justice covers were both Moore covers. The auction catalogue for the sale of his collection was not illustrated, but the descriptions match covers now in the collections of Lanphear and Lockyear, respectively. This auction occurred in 1933, so the Moore covers must have come to the market before then. In Figure 3, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III, we illustrate a $1 \not \subset$ unsealed circular rate cover from the Moore correspondence. It seems lucky that any such covers containing circulars or blank printed forms still survive, since one would have logically expected only the envelopes containing important first class correspondence to have been docketed and saved in the files.

Nathan Goff Jr., Esquire (1843-1920) was the U.S. Attorney in the West Virginia district from 1868 to $1881 .{ }^{5}$ During the period of official stamp usage, the only U.S. District Court in West Virginia was located in Clarksburg. ${ }^{6}$ A variant spelling "Clarksburgh" occasionally appears on the Moore and Goff covers. At some point, the court must have been moved to a new building, with the archives being purged and the Moore and Goff covers ending up in private hands. The Goff correspondence was ultimately purchased by Baltimore stamp dealer Henry Hausdorf around 1958. "In the early 1970s, the consignor traveled to Philadelphia for the purpose of negotiating a sale of the Goff covers with the legendary dealer Philip Ward. Upon seeing the high value Justice covers offered to him, his eyes popped and he was at a momentary loss for words." ${ }^{7}$ This is a charming memory, but in at least one detail inaccurate, since Ward had died of a heart attack in 1963 at the age 76. Apparently no agreement could be reached with Ward for the lot, so Mr. Hausdorf sold off enough covers to recoup his initial cost and then put the rest away for seasoning. Dr. James Milgram, a medical student at Johns Hopkins University from 1963-1965, remembers visiting Mr. Hausdorf's store, The Baltimore Stamp Company, and being told about the find and the $90 \notin$ cover, but was never shown any of the material.
${ }^{5}$ Goff, a native of Clarksburg, had a long political career. He was admitted to the West Virginia bar in 1865 and promptly elected to the state legislature. He served as Secretary of the Navy in 1881, was U.S. Representative from West Virginia 1883-1889, won the popular vote for governor of West Virginia in 1888 but was not confirmed, served as Judge of the U.S. Circuit Court 1892-1911, and was U.S. Senator from West Virginia, 1913-1919. He died in Clarksburg.
${ }^{6}$ Clarksburg, the county seat of Harrison County on the Monongahela River in the northern part of West Virginia, had a population of 3,008 in 1890. West Virginia, the northwest portion of Virginia, had split off after Virginia seceded from the Union, and was confirmed as the 35th state by President Lincoln in 1863. The capital was first in Wheeling, moved to Charleston in 1869, and moved back to Wheeling in 1873. After a public referendum in 1877, when the populace was asked to chose among Charleston, Clarksburg and Martinsburg, Charleston became the fixed capital. Still, the federal court remained in Clarksburg, and other district courts weren't established in the state of West Virginia until the 1920s.
${ }^{\prime}$ Matthew Bennett, Inc. 206th Public Auction, November 15, 1998, p.113. At this writing, Mr. Hausdorf is still alive, but I was unable to interview him for this article. I would have liked to ask him how many covers were in the original find and from whom he bought them. Goff spent much of his later career in the capital, so perhaps these covers were among his personal papers and were inherited by a descendant who stayed in the area. The auction house did not reveal the consignor's identity to me, but I was able to identify him from other sources.

In the previous generation of great official collectors, Rae Ehrenberg of New York had obtained three important Goff covers, Charles Starnes of Michigan had gotten five, but Morrison Waud of Chicago and Marshal Stone had obtained none at all. Frank Hollowbush had 14 Goff covers when his collection was auctioned in 1966, and he must have been the first private customer of Hausdorf, since Starnes and Ehrenberg obtained most of their Goff covers at this auction. In 1967, Mrs. Ehrenberg illustrated a $6 \notin$ Goff cover in an article. ${ }^{8}$ She died in 1983 at age 93, but I am told that her collection of officials, brokered by her son-in-law, a Long Island stamp dealer, had been sold to Bert Taub of Stampazine some years earlier. Containing a comprehensive showing of essays, proofs, mint stamps, varieties, cancellations and covers, it was auctioned on April 10, 1981 by Robert A. Siegel as "The Crystal Collection." Most of the important covers were bought by Lester C. Lanphear III and Robert L. Markovits, although Ted Lockyear did manage to snag a few of her better Justice covers. Morrison Waud's vast collection of official blocks and covers-including many of the best pieces from the Hughes sale-was sold by private treaty in 1982 to Robert L. Markovits. At the time, Robert A. Siegel stated that he had owned the collection for twenty years, so Waud must have sold his collection just before the Goff covers started appearing on the market. This was the largest group of official covers ever assembled. Waud held on to his specialized collection of the Kicking Mule cancels, and Dr. David H. Lobdell was able to purchase the official portion of this through Andrew Levitt around 1990. Likewise, Marshall Stone had apparently stopped collecting officials long before his material was auctioned by Robert A. Siegel on September 14, 1990. This strength of the Stone collection was in special printings, official stationery, covers, and two volumes from Judge Emerson containing extensive cancellation studies and used multiples. The Starnes collection, which concentrated on usages, was stolen in 1983. During the 1960s and 1970s, Rae Ehrenberg and Charles J. Starnes were the dominant active collectors of official covers, and they must have obtained their Goff covers during this period.

In the early 1980s, at a Baltimore auction showroom for antiques, I was browsing through the catalogue for a previous sale and was amazed to come across two lots, a $12 \phi$ Justice cover and a $24 \not \subset$ Justice cover. The $12 \not \subset$ cover, damaged, ended up with William Weiss Jr., while the $24 \varnothing$ cover reappeared in a small Pennsylvania mail sale and was ultimately sold by Al Zimmerman to Lester C. Lanphear III. Now, only two 24¢ Justice covers have ever been reported, both Goff covers, and Mr. Hausdorf would never have consigned a $24 ¢$ Justice cover to a non-philatelic auctioneer. So either a local collector he had sold it to died and his widow consigned it to the auctioneer of antiques, or perhaps Mr . Hausdorf never owned all the Goff covers to begin with. In the mid-1980s, there was already a fair number of Goff covers in the marketplace. In 1990, Hausdorf's remaining Goff covers were offered as a lot to Les Lanphear, but the asking price of $\$ 100,000$ was deemed too steep. Mr. Lanphear retained photocopies of the covers but did not disclose their existence to other collectors. Ultimately, Mr. Hausdorf consigned 37 Justice covers to the auction house of Matthew Bennett, Inc. in 1998, along with a few other Goff covers from the Interior, Post Office, Treasury and War departments. In the auction on November 15 , the most important Justice covers were two $3 \phi$ soft paper covers, two $12 \phi$ covers, a $6 \phi$, $15 \phi$ combination cover, a $3 \phi, 6 \phi, 30 \phi$ combination cover, and the piece de resistance, illustrated on the back cover in color, the legendary cover franked with four 30申 Justice
${ }^{8}$ Ehrenberg, "Authorized Use of the U.S. Official Stamps by the Various Departments," p. 49. Mrs. Ehrenberg began specializing in official stamps a few years after her husband's death in 1948. By 1958, she was able to fill 20 wall frames at the Collectors Club of N.Y., the first time official stamps had been shown there since the April 1935 meeting when Senator Ackerman, Charles J. Philips, Clarence W. Brazier and Stephen G. Rich showed parts of their collections.
(1) fife of the Solicitor of the © treasury.


To be returned to the Office of the Solicitor of the Treasury, Washington, D. O., if not $\}$ cut 6. 624 Whited 0lfater Eltarncer. Olankebung.


Figure 4. 12c Justice paying the quadruple domestic rate from the Office of the Solicitor of the Treasury, Washington, D.C. to Nathan Goff, Jr., U.S. Attorney in Clarksburg, West Virginia, 1877, with woven grid cancellation (courtesy of Theodore O. Lockyear)


Figure 5. Sc, wc, 30c Justice paying $13 x$ the domestic rate, from Washington, D.C. to Nathan Goff, U.S. Attorney in Clarksburg, West Virginia (courtesy of Theodore O. Lockyear)
stamps and three $90 \notin$ Justice stamps. This breathtaking piece has been previously described and illustrated here. ${ }^{9}$ The total realization for the 37 Goff Justice covers, including the $10 \%$ buyer's premium, was $\$ 32,230$, with a top hammer price of $\$ 15,000$ for the $90 \phi$ cover, at the time the highest realization ever for an official cover. In general, there was spirited bidding for the rare high value covers, but the redundant $3 \varnothing$ and $6 \not \subset$ covers attracted little interest.

All of the important covers-excepting one $3 \phi$ Justice soft paper cover and one $12 \phi$ cover-were bought by Mr. Lockyear. In Figure 4, we illustrate Lot \#225, a $12 \phi$ cover from the Officer of the Solicitor of the Treasury with a woven grid cancellation known to have been used by the main Washington, D.C. post office in August 1877. In Figure 5, we show Lot \#228, the unique $3 ¢, 6 \notin, 30 \notin$ combination cover, generally regarded as the second most important cover in the Goff correspondence. Even prior to the sale, Mr. Lockyear's collection was considered virtually complete, and he had already won the grand award at Indypex in 1998 showing four frames of over-sized pages. As the auction date approached, he was laid up with a stubborn hip infection. A fellow collector tried to motivate him to bid aggressively by promising to sell him the $10 \notin$ Justice cover he then lacked. Armed with his new Goff purchases, Mr. Lockyear was able to expand his exhibit to five frames, winning the grand awards at Milcopex in 1999 and Sescal in 2000. The unique $6 \not \subset$ Justice on soft paper cover appeared unheralded in a Massachusetts auction and Mr. Lockyear's agent told him he had taken leave of his senses when he insisted on leaving a top bid of $\$ 1,000$ for a cover that ultimately sold for $\$ 70$. Mr. Lockyear has shown his exhibit once in international competition, winning a large vermeil at London in 2000. The rules of international exhibiting would ordinarily require that in future the exhibit be expanded to eight frames, but surely a special dispensation will be granted. His exhibit now contains 34 covers, with 15 more in reserve, easily the largest holding ever assembled.


Figure 6. 10¢ Justice paying the quintuple local rate in Washington, D.C. to Frederick Douglass, U.S. Marshal, 1879 (courtesy of Theodore O. Lockyear)
${ }^{9}$ Alan C. Campbell, "High Value Official Stamps on Cover," Chronicle, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Whole No. 188) (November 2000), pp. 292-94.

Besides the Moore and Goff correspondences, there is also a small group of covers addressed to Frederick Douglass, Esquire, U.S. Marshal in Washington, D.C. Douglass, son of a slave and a famous abolitionist and orator, served as Marshal of the District of Columbia from 1877 to $1881 .{ }^{10}$ Washington, D.C. postmarks from late 1874 through 1877 contained the hour of the day but not the year, so considering Douglass's term, most of these covers would be dated to 1877 . Deceptively, $6 \not \subset$ and $10 \notin$ covers owned by Ted Lockyear and a $15 \phi$ cover owned by Robert L. Markovits all have 1874 -style postmarks ( 26 mm diameter, no year date, no hour) and yet are clearly addressed to Douglass as U.S. Marshal. Mr. Lockyear's $10 \notin$ cover is illustrated in Figure 6. According to Dr. Dennis W. Schmidt, Postal Service penalty envelopes with dated contents exist from 1878 and 1879, indicating that this earlier style of postmark was revived later. All the Douglas covers are legal size, clean, and bear the crimson seal of the Department of Justice. Ackerman owned one, so the correspondence must have come out prior to 1933.

This seal, adopted in 1872, shows arising from a United States shield an eagle with outspread wings bearing arrows and an olive branch in its talons, surrounded by the motto Qui pro domina justitia sequitur, and in the outer circle "Department of Justice." Since the office of Attorney General evolved from English tradition, these words were derived from a phrase used in the time of Elizabeth I when all proceedings were conducted in Latin, and


Figure 7. 6¢ Justice paying the double domestic rate, from Washington, D.C. to Columbus, Indiana and returned with skull-and-crossbones killer applied in transit (courtesy of Robert L. Markovits)
${ }^{10}$ The appointment of Douglass as the first black U.S. Marshal was clearly political. President Hayes, having withdrawn federal troops from South Carolina and Louisiana, knew that there was a danger that African-Americans would consider their interests to have been overlooked, so he gave their foremost spokesman the honorable and lucrative office of U.S. Marshal. It was the first appointment requiring Senate approval of a black candidate. Previous U.S. Marshals had attended formal receptions at the White House, standing next to the President in the receiving line and presenting each guest to him by name. When President Hayes excused Douglass from this obligation, his black friends urged him to resign over the perceived slight. Douglass, a staunch Republican, declined to do so, perhaps relieved not to be seen performing the function of a glorified butler. Prior to serving as U.S. Marshal, Douglass was president of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, the first interstate bank in 30 years, and from 1881 to 1886 he served as Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia.
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Cunbralqe.


Figure 8. 34 Justice paying the domestic rate from the Executive Mansion in Washington, D.C. to Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1878 (courtesy of Robert L. Markovits)


Figure 9. 3¢ Justice paying the domestic rate from the Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia to San Francisco (courtesy of the Washington Philatelic Society, ex-George T. Turner)
are generally accepted to mean that the Attorney General prosecutes on behalf of Justice. During this time, all legal-size official covers from the Department of Justice bore this bold crimson seal, which greatly enlivens their appearance, since only a tiny fraction of envelopes from other departments had pictorial or colored corner cards. A few small Justice covers survive bearing a straightline "DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE" corner card in small sans serif type, printed in blue, black, or red, and there is an earlier type with a bold Gothic typeface. Covers from the Office of the Solicitor of the Treasury of course did not bear the Justice seal, but had a simple straightline corner card in a Gothic typeface.

The surviving Justice covers are for the most part very straightforward usages. There are no registered covers, no covers to foreign destinations and no mixed frankings with regular postage stamps. None of the distinctive geometric NYFM killers has been reported on an off-cover Justice stamp. There are two July 25 [1873] 3ф legal size covers, one owned by Ted Lockyear and the other by Rollin C. Huggins, with incised pentagram killers, both of which qualify as the earliest known on-cover use of Justice stamps. In this period, the postmarks used at the main post office in the capital did not include the year date, so it was only recently-by comparison with other covers with dated contents or docketing-that these covers were confirmed as being the earliest known Justice usages. ${ }^{11}$ Justice covers with the distinctive D.C. carved killers of the 1870s are scarce, and in general there are few Justice covers with fancy cancellations from any origin. In Figure 7, courtesy of Robert L. Markovits, we show a cover with an additional forwarding postmark, a skull-and-crossbones killer from Columbus, Indiana, which is about as exotic as they come. Also courtesy of Mr. Markovits, we illustrate in Figure 8 a beautiful small 1878 Executive Mansion cover, ex-Ehrenberg (\#279), addressed to a relative of Attorney General Devens in Massachusetts, franked inexplicably with a $3 ¢$ Justice stamp. He has another baffling piece, ex-Ackerman (\#95): the left side of a registered Department of the Interior Pension Office envelope, franked with three $24 \varnothing$ Justice stamps. In addition to the standard Department of Justice and Office of the Solicitor of the Treasury corner cards, Robert L. Markovits has an $18782 \phi$ local rate cover from the U.S. Attorney, District of Columbia, and in Figure 9, courtesy of the Washington Philatelic Society, we illustrate a $3 \notin$ cover from the Metropolitan Police, ex-George T. Turner.
"Alan C. Campbell, "Usage of Official Stamps in Washington, D.C., 1873-1874," Chronicle, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Whole No. 187)(August 2000), p. 211.

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## THE FOREIGN MAILS RICHARD F. WINTER, Editor

## THE HAVANA MARKINGS OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, AND CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, USED ON INCOMING STEAMSHIP MAIL <br> YAMIL H. KOURI, JR., M.D. AND THERON J. WIERENGA

The Act of March 3, 1845, authorized the Postmaster General to contract to carry mail between American and foreign ports. It was stipulated that contracted vessels had to be American-owned and operated, and that the correspondence that they carried could be charged higher postage rates to help offset the subsidy. Letters transported on board contract steamers were classified as "steamship mail" to distinguish them from the regular "ship mail" carried by non-contract vessels.

It wasn't until September 4, 1847, that the first contract to operate a route between Charleston and Havana was awarded to the Charleston merchant Moses Cohen Mordecai. Mordecai had a new steamer built to run on this route, the Isabel. ${ }^{1}$ Since this was a contract route, mail carried by steamships into Charleston and Savannah was rated with the steamship rates and not ship rates.


Figure 1. Steamship Isabel from a contemporary painting.
This vessel, probably named in honor of the young Queen of Spain, Isabel II, was built in Baltimore and launched February 22, 1848. She was 1,100 tons, 231 feet in length, with a breadth of 34 feet and a depth of hold of $21 \frac{1}{2}$ feet. The engine was a side beam model of 500 horsepower, with a cylinder 72 inches in diameter and an 8 foot stroke. Her

[^12]furnishings were very nicely done and the interior was finished in mahogany. In addition, several improvements to her overall structure were advancements over earlier side wheel steamships. An example of this was her paddle boxes, which were raised and built into the hull to avoid their dragging in the paddle wash and improving structural integrity. ${ }^{2}$ Figure 1 shows a contemporary painting of the steamship Isabel.

The Isabel cleared Baltimore on October 4, 1848, and arrived at Charleston on October 6. She cleared for Havana on her maiden voyage on October 18, arriving at Havana October 21. She returned from Havana on October 24, and arrived at Charleston on October 27. The Isabel normally made additional stops at both Savannah, Georgia and Key West, Florida on her outward and inward passages, keeping a very regular fortnightly schedule. She was typically taken out of service for a month or more during the summer or fall. During this time she completed her annual repairs, usually in New York. The action of seawater on her boilers and pipes was very corrosive. The Isabel continued on this route through 1860 . $^{3}$

The first steamship rates authorized by Congress appeared in the Acts of March 3, 1845 and March 3, 1847. The rate to or from the West India islands was $10 \notin$ to the port, with additional inland charges of $5 \notin$ or $10 \notin$ if addressed beyond the port of arrival. The rate to or from Havana was $12^{1} / 2 \phi$, to or from Chagres, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama, $20 ¢$, to or from Panama, on the Pacific side of the Isthmus, $30 ¢$, and to or from ports on the Pacific coast $40 \phi$. Except for the West India rate there was no additional inland postage collected on these steamship rates. The $12^{1} / 2 \phi$ rate to Havana may seem unusual with its fractional cent, but it was probably chosen because the Spanish currency, the real, was equivalent to $12^{\frac{1}{2}}$ United States cents. Reales and Spanish milled dollars (8 reales, a piece of eight) circulated widely in North America.

In order to distinguish between incoming Cuban mail and correspondence from other places, the post offices in Savannah and Charleston created their own special handstamps. They simply used a straightline HAVANA. marking, although later on Charleston also had a circular datestamp that incorporated the word HAVANA and the rate. These are the first examples known to us of American postmarks with the name of a foreign city. The straightline HAVANA. markings served to indicate not only the origin of the letter but also the reason for the higher steamship rate applied to mail carried over this contract route. Most of the recorded examples of these markings appear on covers carried by the steamship Isabel.

The Savannah Markings

The first type of HAVANA. marking was used in Savannah. It appears to have been made from a line of printer's type, and after a short time its letters became askew. Figure 2 compares an excerpt of the Savannah newspaper Savannah Daily Republican with an enlarged HAVANA. marking. The newspaper letter type appears to be identical to that of the postmark. The newspaper publishers, Locke and Winter, also advertised their printing business for the city and county and it is possible that they supplied the type for the postal device used in Savannah.

We initially thought that there were three different types of this HAVANA. marking, but it is more likely that the original device, which may have been hastily conceived, gradually deteriorated over the more than ten years in which it was used, and that only one device existed. It seems improbable that there would have been several very similar examples of this handstamp, which was used so infrequently.

[^13]
# HAVANA. 



Figure 2. Letter type set used by the newspaper Savannah Daily Republican, identical to the straightline HAVANA marking used by the local post office. (The handstamp has been enlarged 2.5x.)

From 1848 until 1859, Savannah used one of their regular circular datestamps and a separate rate marking along with a small, straightline HAVANA. The rates were initially indicated with a manuscript " $12^{1} / 2$ " cent rate (or its multiples) before July 1, 1851. There is also one example of a Savannah circular datestamp (cds) with an integral " $121 / 2$ " rate dated November 5, 1850, on a letter from Cuba. After July 1, 1851, the rate to and from Cuba was reduced to $10 \phi$ per $1 / 2$ ounce, the same as for the rest of the West Indies. Single weight rates were normally indicated with a handstamp $\mathbf{1 0}$ in an 18 mm circle or with a $\mathbf{1 0}$ without the circle. There were handstamps for multiple weight letters and other special mail categories as well, although sometimes these were also handwritten.

The cover in Figure 3 was postmarked at Savannah on October 28, 1848, and bears the earliest recorded example of the straightline HAVANA. Since this date is one day later than the steamship's arrival at Charleston, a delay in processing the letter must have occurred. The single letter rate due from the addressee, $12^{1 / 2 \nmid \varnothing}$, was indicated in manuscript. There is also a SAVANNAH/*GEO* cds and a straightline STEAM BOAT marking. All the handstamps are in red. According to postal regulations, the STEAM BOAT handstamp should only have been applied to correspondence carried on inland waterways or coastal vessels. There was evidently some confusion among the local postmasters regarding the correct labeling of the new "steamship" letters, and there are several examples of contract steamship mail during the latter months of 1848 that received STEAM BOAT markings. This happened in the three main ports that handled contract steamship mail at the time: Savannah, Charleston, and New York.

The cover in Figure 4 is a delightful item. The letter is datelined "Matanzas 6 January 1850," and headed "Dupl Orig pr Isabel," The face is inscribed "Philadelphia," which was unusual for a cover brought into Savannah. On the letter's arrival in Savannah, the post office applied the same red SAVANNAH/*GEO* cds as on the cover in Figure 3, dated January 15 [1850], a straight-line HAVANA. marking, and a manuscript " $12^{1 / 2}$," the normal steamship rate from Havana in 1850. This cover was carried by the Philadelphia on the return of her first trip to Havana. Before this, she had made only one trip from Philadelphia to Charleston for the Philadelphia and Charleston Steam Navigation Company. The Philadelphia cleared Philadelphia on December 20, 1849, and arrived in Havana on January 2, 1850, via Charleston on December 28 and Savannah on December 29. On her return voyage, she arrived in Savannah on January 15, Charleston on January 16, and New York on January 30, via Philadelphia. ${ }^{4}$ When she cleared New York on
${ }^{4}$ New York Herald, December 21 and December 28, 1849, January 5 and January 9, 1850.


Figure 3. The earliest recorded incoming contract steamship cover carried into Savannah on the first northbound trip of the Isabel.


Figure 4. A cover carried by the Philadelphia on her one trip to Havana prior to entering the New York to Chagres service.

February 7, 1850, for Howland and Aspinwall's Atlantic service, she began regular service between New York and Chagres. ${ }^{5}$ Notice should be taken here that the Philadelphia did not have a mail contract, but was traveling over a contract mail steamship route and mail carried by her was subjected to steamship mail rates. ${ }^{6}$

Figure 5 illustrates a cover from Cuba datelined "Matanzas 19 Novr. 1850." The red circular datestamp reads SAVANNAH Ga./6, the " 6 "probably representing the $6 \not \subset$ ship rate to the port of arrival. This cds was probably struck on the cover in error, as the one with the $12^{1} / 2 \phi$ rate would have been correct for a steamship letter from Cuba. This cover has a "twin" from Matanzas to Maine, with all the same dates and markings, except the manuscript "Forwarded." The dates on these covers are consistent with the arrival of the Isabel at Savannah. A red straight-line HAVANA. marking was also applied to denote the origin of the letter. Although unclear, the manuscript "Forwarded" may have been written at Havana since the letter originated in Matanzas, not Havana.

At around this time, the characters in the HAVANA. postmark begin to show some degree of misalignment. Sometimes the last "A" was clearly higher than the "H," and at times the opposite was true. It is possible that the letters were not tightly attached to the base of the postal device and that depending on the angle at which the postmark was struck different degrees of alignment between the letters resulted.

Figure 6 illustrates a cover that was not carried by a Spanish mail packet but may have been intended for one. The letter was datelined "Orotava de Teneriffe-Canaries-West Africa Islands, March 12th, 1854." The sailings of Spanish mail packets during 1853 and 1854 were irregular. No packets cleared Cadiz in January, March, or June 1853, nor from August 1853 through May 1854, July 1854, or February 1855.' This cover is inscribed "Pr. Eloisa," a private ship that carried the letter from the Canary Islands to Havana in place of the Spanish mail packet. At Havana, the letter was placed on board the steamship Isabel, which carried it to Savannah. Why the letter was placed in the mail bag for the Savannah post office instead of the one for Charleston, the Isabel's final destination, is unclear. Savannah applied a SAVANNAH/*GEO* cds of April 11 [1854], two strikes of a small, straight-line HAVANA. marking, and a 10 in-circle marking. The HAVANA. marking was used to denote the origin of the letter and to explain the $10 ¢$ steamship rate. This marking measured $18 \times 2^{1 / 2} \mathrm{~mm}$ and was used from 1854 to 1859 . The letter is a delightful one, written by a traveler with a sense of humor, who described the Canary Islands.

The HAVANA. marking of Savannah was always applied in red ink until 1850. After 1854 it is only seen in black ink. We have not recorded any examples of this marking between 1850 and 1854, so it is not known exactly when the change in ink color took place. Since the Savannah town markings and the rate handstamp always match the color of the straightline HAVANA., they all must have changed simultaneously sometime in the early 1850s.

Figure 7 shows a printed circular from Havana to Augusta, Georgia, dated November 7, 1855. It has a black HAVANA. and matching 2 in a circle, very similar to the circular rate handstamp on the previous cover but showing the incoming steamship printed matter rate to or from Cuba of $2 \phi$. The color of the PRINTED CIRCULAR marking is very different from that of the other handstamps on this cover and it may have been applied by the sender. This is the only example that we have recorded of the straightline marking from Savannah on printed matter. In contrast to the marking on the cover on Figure 5, the

[^14]

Figure 5. The SAVANNAH Ga./6 ship rate marking, most likely struck in error on a steamship letter that should have been rated $121 / 2 \mathrm{c}$.


Figure 6. A cover most likely intended for a Spanish mail packet but evidently carried into Havana by private ship, and then carried by the Isabel into Savannah.
strike on this cover shows the "H" much lower than the last "A." This supports our hypothesis that during this period (1854-55) the letters on this handstamp may have been loose, giving variable impressions.

From about 1855 on, the strikes of the HAVANA. handstamp have a fairly consistent impression. The first two letters are clearly higher than the rest, the " V " is elongated, and the last two letters have a slightly upward slope. This sometimes gives the marking an undulating appearance.


Figure 7. The HAVANA. marking in black on printed circular rated 2c from Havana to Augusta, Georgia, dated November 7, 1855.

Figure 8 illustrates a late use of one of the straight-line HAVANA. markings with the handstamp 10 postage due marking. The letter is datelined "Havana 24 febrero 1859," and has a Savannah circular datestamp of February 2-, 1859. The face is inscribed "per Isabel." A green, oval marking *ED. DOIZE Y Ca.*/COMISION Y CONSIGNACION indicates the firm that sent the letter. Another similar cover is shown in Figure 9. This letter is datelined "Habana Marzo 24/1859," just one month later, and also is addressed to the Lanman and Kemp firm in New York. The face of this letter has the inscription "St Isabel," the straight-line HAVANA. marking, and the $\mathbf{1 0}$ rate marking. The HAVANA. marking was not kept clean and the letters were filled with ink. The SAVANNAH/*GEO* circular datestamp on the this cover is a different style from the Figure 8 cover, and has stars between the town and state. Variations of this style townmark were used at Savannah for many years.

Figure 10 illustrates an unusual cover to Paris that originated in Cuba and was routed via the United States. It is datelined "Havana 9 Janvier 1859," and was carried into Savannah by the Isabel. ${ }^{8}$ The letter face was struck with a Savannah cds of January 13

[^15]

Figure 8. A late use of the straight-line HAVANA. marking with the handstamp 10 postage due marking.


Figure 9. A different style of Savannah townmark used with the straight-line HAVANA. marking.

1859, a 30 in-circle handstamp, and straight-line HAVANA. handstamp, each applied in black ink by the post office in Savannah. Although the cover was endorsed "Via Charleston," the Isabel dropped this letter at Savannah prior to arriving at Charleston. The letter was transported overland to New York, where the bold $\mathbf{1 0}$ in-circle handstamp was applied for the debit to France. The letter also was struck on the reverse with a black NEW-YORK/B ${ }^{\text {R. }} \mathbf{P K}^{\text {T }}$. datestamp of January 19. France applied the ET. UNIS SERV. BR. A.C./L cds to the face and the script-style 24 decimes postage due marking. The United States apparently considered this a single-rate letter while the French considered it a double-rate.


Figure 10. A Havana to Paris cover routed via the United States. The HAVANA. marking explained the additional postage included in the $10 ¢ \mathrm{c}$ debit handstamp.

The cover illustrated in Figure 11 originated in Cuba and was franked with two $3 \not \subset$ stamps of the 1857 issue used on a buff $10 ¢$ postal stationary envelope. The sender probably had no $1 \phi$ stamps and overpaid the $15 \phi$ rate to Canada by $1 \phi$. The stamps are cancelled by the 27 mm SAVANNAH/*GEO* townmark of July 31, [1859]. Savannah also applied their straightline HAVANA. denoting the origin of the letter and the reason for the higher rate. Although the letter was endorsed to go "via Charleston," the steamship service to Charleston had ceased at the end of June 1859. ${ }^{9}$ Havana sent the letter by some other vessel to Savannah. Since the prepayment was sufficient for an incoming ship letter at Savannah addressed to Canada, the letter was sent to Montreal as fully prepaid. The framed ADV marking was used at Montreal to indicate the letter was advertised, a rare marking. ${ }^{10}$ The reverse bears a MONTREAL/L.C. circular datestamp of August 4, 1859.
(to be continued)

[^16]

Figure 11. A cover originating in Cuba and addressed to Canada showing the 15¢ rate overpaid by $\mathbf{1 c}$ in stamps.
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Figure 1. Front and reverse of Cachet \#9 cover, Canada to Detroit, "Advertised / Unclaimed"


## THE COVER CORNER RAYMOND W. CARLIN, Editor

## ADDITIONAL ANSWERS TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUES 192-198

The saga continues in locating covers in the 1850s to 1880s with a cachet admonishing the reader to "HAVE LETTERS DIRECTED TO STREET \& NUMBER," with variations and auxiliary markings, viz., "ADVERTISED" and "RETURN TO WRITER." See the table for 12 of these covers submitted by our Route Agents, each cover having a distinguishing feature. Apparently this practice was designed to curtail the mail being picked up at the post office and to facilitate carrier delivery.

Six examples were shown in Chronicle Nos. 192 to 197, and those illustrations will not be repeated here. But we will straighten out an erroneous assignment. The two covers shown in Chronicle No. 198, cachet covers \#7 and \#8, were submitted by Agent Jim Blandford, who also contributed covers \#1 and \#9, thereby being the chief provider for this group of cachet covers-thanks, Jim.
\#7 and \#8 have the same cachet, and the addresses were not found in Detroit. Each received a circular "RETURN TO WRITER" \#7 the larger at 25 mm , and \#8 at 21 mm . \#8 was also franked with a $2 \phi$ stamp as a drop letter.

Both sides of cachet cover \#9 are shown, to capture the many markings on front and back (Figure 1). It was from Canada (very weak strike of "CANADA / PAID 10 Cts" between "ADVERTISED" and "UNCLAIMED"), and received two strikes of the cachet, one front and one back. It also has a Detroit receiving CDS and a manuscript "Unfamiliar."

Covers \#10 and \#11 are a pair sent in by Jim Milgram. \#10 is the only cachet seen with a misspelling in the text, viz., "LETERS" vs. "LETTERS" (Figure 2). \#11 (Figure 3) is another drop letter, but overpaid with a $3 \phi$ stamp.


Figure 2. Cachet \#10, Newburgh to Syracuse, "Leters" misspelled


Figure 3. Cachet \#11, St. Louis drop letter, overpaid
Cover \#12 I found inadvertently, and both sides are shown (Figure 4). It's the only one seen in magenta ink, one of two from Canada, has an "ADVERTISED" CDS, and four strikes of "TORONTO / ONT." and "NEW ORLEANS / LA." CDS in black. The cachet text has no border and only the following three lines of abbreviated text: "HAVE LETTERS / DIRECTED / TO STREET \& No." plus four strikes of the pointing "RETURNED TO WRITER," two each front and back.

With a small sample of 12 , it is not statistically significant for conclusions, but some tentative ones might be possible:

- All six covers mailed to Detroit received one of two date stamps (simple, without rim) which ostensibly were used to keep track of Advertised and Returned to Writer dates; see comments by Route Agents Bernard Biales and Lewis Leigh in Chronicle No. 193.
- It was acceptable for postmasters to modify and convert the cachet, e.g., (a) "No." vs. Number"; (b) elimination of the word "Your" (cachet \#4); oval rims, circular or no rims at all.
- The life of such an unusual cachet seems long-from 1865 to 1884 .
- No reference could be found regarding the use and intended benefit of such markings in cities using them. Do our Route Agents know of any examples of such?

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Figure 4. Front and reverse of Cachet \#12 cover, Toronto to New Orleans, pointing fingers, "Returned to Writer"

Please send to The Cover Corner Editor your answers to the problem covers for this issue, and any further discussion of previous answers to other problem covers, as soon as possible, preferably within two weeks of receiving your Chronicle. The "go to press" deadline for the November 2003 Cover Corner is October 10, 2003. I can receive mail at 605 Maple Trace, Cincinnati, OH 45231-4166 and via an e-mail address: RWCarlin @aol.com.

New examples of problem covers are always needed for The Cover Corner. High resolution copiers, either black and white or colored images, have proven to be quite successful in reproducing covers. Please send two copies of each cover including the reverse if it has significant markings. It is also important to identify the color of markings on covers submitted in black and white. Thanks.

TABLE 1 - "HAVE LETTERS DIRECTED TO STREET No."

| COVER |  |  | CACHET |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Year | From | To | Shape/Size $(\mathrm{mm})$ | Lines | Instructions | Type | Color |
| c. 1865 | Old Point <br> Comfort | Detroit | $43 \times 24$ oval | 4 | LETTERS DIRECTED | block | black |
| c. 1865 | Nashville | Detroit | $47 \times 26$ oval | 4 | LETTERS DIRECTED | block | black |
| 1865 | Chebansee Il | Detroit | $47 \times 26$ oval $13 \times 14$ sq. 19 mm cir. | $4$ | LETTERS DIRECTED ADV./JUL 1/1865 DUE / 2 | block | black |
| c. 1865 | Sullivan IN | Terre Haute IN | $45 \times 26$ oval | 3 | MAIL / ADDRESSED | serifs | black |
| ? | Gowanda NY | Buffalo NY | $46 \times 26$ oval | 4 | LETTERS DIRECTED (on reverse) | bold | black |
| c. 1865 | Leavenworth ${ }^{\text {IN }}$ | New Orleans | 31 circle | 5 | MAIL DIRECTED | block | black |
| ? | Galesburgh IL | Detroit | $45 \times 28$ oval 25 circle | $4$ | LETTERS DIRECTED RETURNED TO WRITER | block | black |
| 1877 | Detroit (drop letter) | Detroit | $42 \times 28$ oval 21 circle | $4$ | LETTERS DIRECTED RETURNED TO WRITER | block | black |
| 1865 | Canada | Detroit | $\begin{array}{\|l} 49 \times 28 \text { oval } \\ 42 \times 12 \text { box } \\ 42 \times 12 \text { box } \end{array}$ | $4$ | LETTERS DIRECTED ADVERTISED UNCLAIMED | block bold bold | black |
| ? | Newburgh NY | Syracuse NY | $33 \times 24$ oval | $4$ | LETERS DIRECTED... <br> ...No. <br> Returned (ms) | block | black |
| ? | St. Louis MO | St. Louis MO (o'paid drop) | $41 \times 24$ oval | 4 | LETTERS DIRECTED | serifs | black |
| 1884 | Toronto | New Orleans | $35 \times 14 \mathrm{SL}$ <br> pointing fingers | $4$ | HAVE LETTERS / DIRECTED / TO STREET \& No. RETURNED TO WRITER | block | magenta <br> magenta |
| TOTALS |  | 12 COVERS | 12 CACHETS |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 6 to Detroit | 10 Letters Directed |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 2 from Canada | 2 Mail Directed / Addressed |  |  |  |  |
|  | Earliest date | 1865 | 4 Advertised / Unclaimed |  |  |  |  |
| Latest date |  | 1884 | 2 serifs |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | 2 No. |  |  |  |  |
| RWC - 7/7/03 |  |  | 1 misspelled LETERS |  |  |  |  |

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## Montana Territorial Postmarks

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[^0]:    Address changes should be sent to Secretary, back issue orders to Publication Sales Chairman, other correspondence to Editor-in Chief. Reports of new items or articles should be submitted to appropriate Section Editor or Editor-in-Chief. Do not send stamps or covers unless requested. Any items sent will be carefully guarded but no liability attaches to an editor.

[^1]:    Constitution of the United States, Art.I, Sec.8, C1.7.

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    ${ }^{3}$ David G. Phillips, ed., American Stampless Cover Catalog, Vol. 1 (North Miami, Fla.: David G. Phillips Publishing Co., Inc., 1987) p. xviii.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Elliot Perry and Arthur Hall, 100 Years Ago / February-1842-August (New York: American Philatelic Society, 1942), p. 34.
    ${ }^{5}$ Calvet M. Hahn, "The Post Office During Confederation (1782-9), Appendix 1," Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Jan-Feb 1991), pp. 36-42.
    ${ }^{6}$ Abe Schoenfeld, "First United States New York City Letter Carriers," Stamps, November 8, 1941, p. 195.
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    ${ }^{8}$ Calvet M. Hahn, "The Early Development of Carrier Service in America, With Particular Emphasis on Service in New York Before 1850," 2002, on The Carriers \& Locals Society Internet site, www.pennypost.org/articles.htm, p. 18.
    ${ }^{9}$ Theron Wierenga, comp., Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America, 1852, reprinted. (Holland, Mich.: Theron Wierenga, 1980), p. 49.
    ${ }^{10}$ Perry and Hall, p. 33.
    "Elliot Perry, Pat Paragraphs, comp. by George Turner and Thomas E. Stanton (Takoma Park, Md.: Bureau Issues Association Inc., 1981), p. 229.
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    ${ }^{13}$ Personal conversation with Calvet Hahn, who believes this number to be multiples greater, given that "carrier" service includes many post offices with only inbound "from the Mail" delivery in the mid-eighteenth century.
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    ${ }^{20}$ Ibid., pp. 79-80.
    ${ }^{21}$ Calvet M. Hahn, "Origin of the Drop Letter Charge," S.P.A.Journal, February 1977, p. 364.
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    ${ }^{24}$ Theron Wierenga, comp., Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States, 1832 \& 1843 (Holland, Mich.: Theron Wierenga, 1980), p. 59.
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    ${ }^{2}$ American Philatelic Expertizing Service Certificate 127403.
    ${ }^{3}$ Hulme, Vol. 49, No. 3, p. 176.
    ${ }^{4}$ Ibid., Volume 49, No. 2, p. 96.
    ${ }^{5}$ Letter from Stanley B. Ashbrook to Paul R. Peak, 15 November 1932.
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